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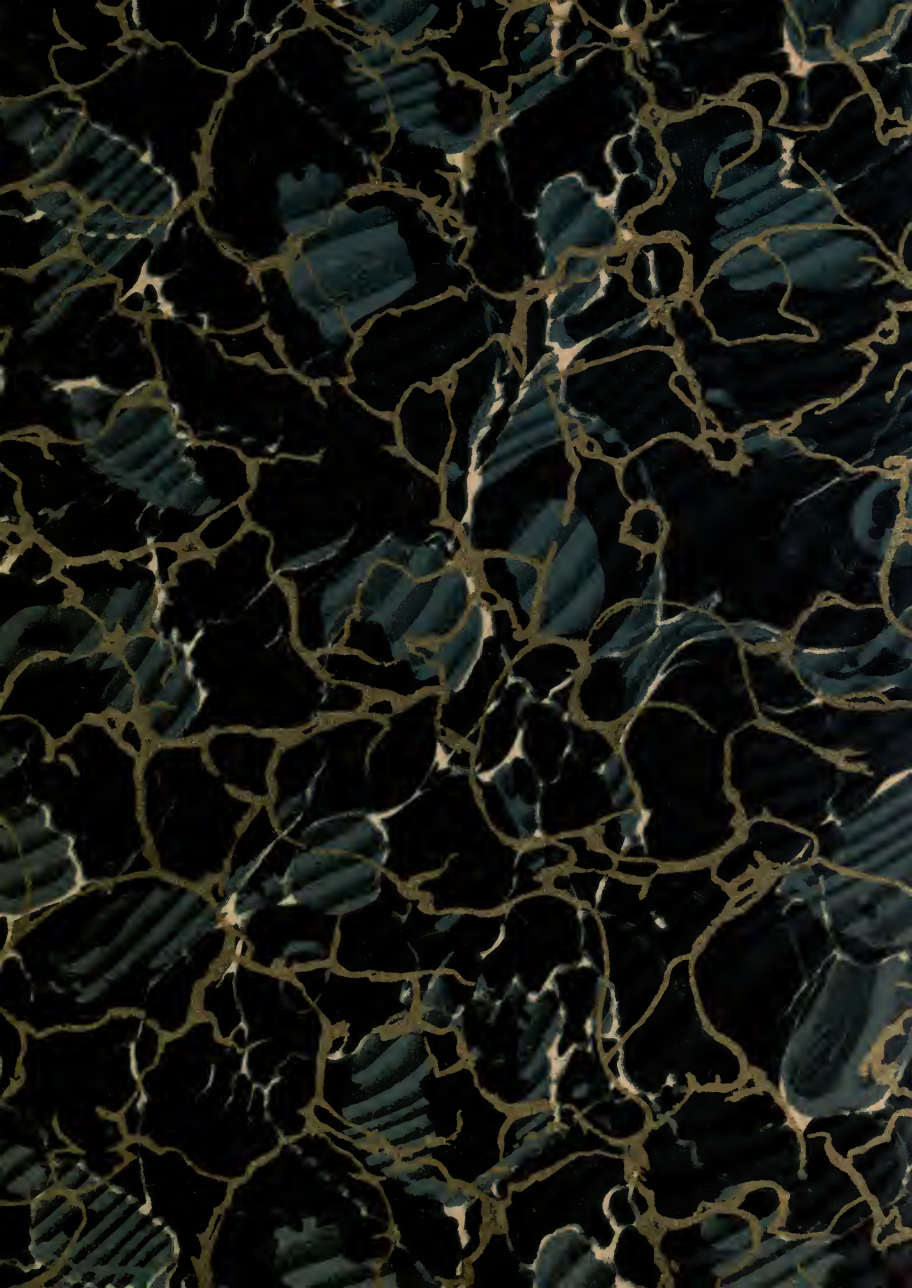

THE

NATURALL and MORALL

HISTORIE

Of the EAST and WEST INDIES.

BY

JOSEPH ACOSTA.

Tranſlated by E. G.

LONDON, PRINTED. 1604

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NATURAL and MORAL HISTORIE

OF THE

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BY

JOSEPH ACOSTA.

Translated by E. G.

LONDON, PRINTED

To the right Honorable Sir *Robert* Cicill *Knight*, *Baron of* Esingden, Vicount Cranborne, principall Secretary to his Maiestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, *and one of his Highnesse most honourable* Privie Counsell.

85738

IGht Honorable; If it appeare presumption in me to shew my love, my dutie betraies me to it. The advantage I have gleaned from idle houres, in exchanging this Indian History from Spanish to English, is commended to your Honors Patronage, whose first father *Ioseph Acosta*, hath with great observation made worthie the over-looking. A greater motive then that you are your selfe, needed not to excite me to this dedication. I beseech you my good Lord, take it into shelter, and receive that which is not, for that which I would it were. Let my insufficiencie be measured by my good will. So shall my poore abilities thrive vnder your incouragement, and happily leade me on to some stronger vndertaking; wherein I shall bee bound to thanke you for mine owne paines, and for ever remaine

Your Lordships most devoted

The Authors advertisement to the Reader.

MANY have written ſundry bookes and diſcourſes of the New World *at the* Weſt Indies, *whercin they deſcribe new and ſtrange things diſcovered in thoſe partes, with the actes and adventures of the Spaniards, which have conquered and peopled thoſe Countries. But hitherto I have not ſeene any other Author which treates of the cauſes and reaſons of theſe novelties and wonders of nature, or that hath made any ſearch thereof. Neither have I read any booke which maketh mention of the hiſtories of the antient Indians, and naturall inhabitants of the* New World. *In truth theſe two things are difficult; The firſt being the works of Nature, contrarie to the antient and received Philoſophy, as to ſhew that the region which they call the burning Zone, is very moiſt, and in many places very temperate, and that it raines there, whenas the Sunne is neereſt, with ſuch like things. For ſuch as have written of the Weſt* Indies, *have not made profeſſion of ſo deepe Philoſophie; yea, the greateſt part of thoſe Writers have had no knowledge thereof. The ſecond thing it treats of, is, of the proper hiſtorie of the Indians, the which required much conference and travaile a-*

mong

mong the Indians themselves: the which most of them that have treated of the Indies could not doe, either not understanding the language, or not curious in the search of their Antiquities: so as they have beene contented to handle those things which have beene most common and superficiall. Desiring therefore to have some more particular knowledge thereof, I have beene carefull to learne from men of greatest experience and best seene in these matters, and to gather from their discourses and relations, what I have thought fit to give knowledge of the deedes and custome of these people. And for that which concernes the nature of those Countries, and their properties, I have learned it by the experience of many friends, and by my dilligence to search, discover, and conferre with men of iudgement and knowledge. In my opinion there are many advertisements, which may serve and benefit better wits for the searching out of the truth, or to proceede farther, in finding that pleasing which is conteined heerein. So as although this new World be not new, but old, in respect of the much which hath beene written thereof; yet this historie may in some sort be held for new; for it is partly historicall, and partly philosophicall, as well for that they are the workes of nature, as of free-will; which are the deedes and customes of men, the which hath caused mee to name it the Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies. Containing these two things: In the first two bookes mention is made of that which concernes the heavens temperature, and habitation of the world, which books I had first written in Latine, & now I have translated them into Spanish, using more the liberty of an author, then the strict bonds of a translator, to apply my self the better to those for whom it is written in the vulgar tong. In the two following books, is treated of that which concernes the Elements and naturall mixtures, as Mettalls, Plants, Beasts, and what else is remarkable at the Indies. The

bookes. 1. 2.

3. 4.

rest

Lat. 5. 6. 7. *rest of the bookes relate what I could certainely discover, and what I thought worthie memory of the Indians themselves, their Ceremonies, Customs, Governments, Wars, & Adventures. In the same Historie shall be spoken (as I could learne and comprehend,) of the figures of the antient Indians, seeing they had no writing nor characters as we have, which is no small industry to have preserved their Antiquities, without the vse of letters. To conclude, the scope of this worke is, that having knowledge of the workes of nature, which the wise Author of all nature made, we may praise and glorifie the high God, who is wonderfull in all things and all places. And having knowledge of the Indians customes, we may helpe them more easily to follow and persever in the high vocation of the Gospel, to the knowledge whereof, the Lord would draw this blinde nation in these latter daies. Besides al these things, every one may sucke out some profit for himselfe; for that the wise do alwaies draw forth some good out of the smalest subiect, as we finde deepe Philosophie in the least and baseſt creatures. I must onely advertise the Reader, that the two first bookes of this historie or discourse, were written in* Peru, *and the other five, since in* Europe, *dutie binding me to returne into these partes: so as some speake of matters of the* Indies, *as of things present, and others, as being absent. And therefore I have thought it good to advertise the Reader heereof, that this diversitie of speach may not be troublesome vnto him.*

Farewell.

THE FIRST BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Hiſtorie of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

Of the opinions of ſome Authors, which ſuppoſed that the Heavens did not extend to the new-found world.

The firſt Chapter.

THE Ancients were ſo farre from conceypt, that this new-found world was peopled by any Nation, that many of them could not imagine there was any land on that part: and (which is more worthie of admiration) ſome have flatly denyed, that the Heavens (which we now beholde) could extend thither. For although the greateſt part, (yea, the moſt famous among the Philoſophers) have well knowne that the Heaven was round (as in effect it is) and by that meanes did compaſſe and comprehend within it ſelf the whole earth: yet many, (yea, of the holy doctors of greateſt au-

thoritie) have disagreed in opinion vpon this point: supposing the frame of this vniversall world to bee fashioned like vnto a house: whereas the roofe that covers it, invirons onely the vpper part, and not the rest: inferring by their reasons, that the earth should else hang in the middest of the ayre, the which seemed vnto them voyd of sense. For as we see in every building, the ground-worke and foundation on the one side, and the cover opposite vnto it: even so in this great building of the world, the Heaven should remaine above on the one part, and the earth vnder it. The glorious *Chrysostome*, (a man better seene in the studie of holy Scriptures, then in the knowledge of Philosophie) seemes to be of this opinion, when in his Commentaries vpon the Epistle to the Hebrewes, he doth laugh at those, which hold the heavens to be round. And it seemes, the holy Scripture doth inferre as much; terming the Heavens a Tabernacle or Frame built by the hand of God. And hee passeth farther vpon this point, saying, that which mooves and goes, is not the Heaven, but the Sunne, Moone and Starres which moove in the heaven, even as Sparrowes and other birds moove in the ayre: contrary to that, which the Philosophers hold, that they turne with the Heaven it selfe, as the armes of a wheele doe with the wheele. *Theodoret* a very grave Authour, followes *Chrysostome* in this opinion, and *Theophilus* likewise, as hee is accustomed almost in all thinges. But *Lactantius Firmian*, above all the rest, holding the same opinion, doth mocke the Peripatetickes and Academickes, which give the heaven a round forme, placing the earth in the middest thereof: for that it seemeth ridiculous vnto him, that the earth

Chrysost. homil. 14 & 17. in epist and Hebre.

Chrysbom.6.13 in Genes.& hom.12.ad pop. Antioch.

Theodoret.

Theophil.in capitul.8.ad Hebre.

Lact.lib.3.divin.inst.ca.24.

earth ſhould hang in the ayre, as is before ſayde. By which his opinion, hee is conformable vnto *Epicurus*, who holdeth, that on the other part of the earth, there is nothing but a *Chaos* and infinite gulph. And it ſeemeth that S. *Ierome* draweth neere to this opinion, writing vpon the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians* in theſe wordes. *Ier. in epiſt. ad Epheſ. lib. 2. c. 4.* *The naturall Philoſopher by his contemplation pierceth to the height of heaven, and on the other part he findeth a great vaſt in the depth and bowels of the earth.* Some likewiſe ſay that *Procopius* affirmes (the which I have not ſeene) vpon the booke of *Geneſis*, that the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, touching the forme and circular motion of the Heaven, is contrarie and repugnant to the holy Scriptures. *Sixtus Senenſ. lib. 5. biblio. annotat. 3.* But whatſoever the Ancients ſay or holde touching this point, it muſt not trouble vs, for that it is wel knowne and verified, that they have not beene ſo ſtudious in the knowledge and demonſtrations of Philoſophie, beeing buſied in other ſtudies of farre greater importance. But that which is more to be admired, is, that S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe, ſo well ſeene in all naturall Sciences, yea, very learned in Aſtrologie and Phyſicke, remaynes yet ſtill in doubt, not able to reſolve, whether the Heaven did compaſſe in the earth on all parts. *What care I* (ſaith he) *if we ſuppoſe the Heaven doth inviron the earth on all parts like vnto a bowle, beeing in the middeſt of the world, as a bottome is compaſſed with threed: or that we ſay it is not ſo, and that the Heaven covereth the earth of one part onely, as a great Baſin that hangs over it.* *Aug. lib. 2. de Gen. ad lit. c. 9.* *Id. Pſal. 35.* In the ſame place he ſeemeth to ſhew, (nay, hee ſpeaketh plainely) that there is no certaine demonſtration, to proove the figure of the world to be round, but onely by ſimple coniectures. In which places cited and others; they hold the circular motion of the Heaven very doubt-

full. But wee ought not to take it offencively, nor esteeme lesse of the Doctors of the holy Church, if in some points of Philosophie and naturall knowledge, they have varied in opinion from that which is helde for good philosophie; seeing all their studie hath been to know, preach and serve the Creator of all things, wherein they have bin excellent, and having well imployed their studies in causes of greater waight, it is a small matter in them, not to have knowen all particularities concerning the creatures. But those vaine Philosophers of our age, are much more to bee blamed, who having attayned to the knowledge of the being and order of the creatures, and of the course and motion of the Heavens, have not yet learned (wretched as they are) to knowe the Creator of all things, but busying themselves wholly in his workes, have not yet mounted by their imaginations to the knowledge of the Soveraigne Author thereof, as the holy Scripture teacheth vs: or if they have knowyne him, they have not served and glorified him, as they ought, blinded with their imaginations, whereof the Apostle doth accuse and blame them.

Sapien. 13.
Rom. 1.

That the Heaven is round on all parts, mooving in his course of it selfe. CHAP. 2.

BVt comming to our subiect: there is no doubt, but the opinion which *Aristotle* and the other Peripateticks held with the Stoicks, (that the figure of Heaven was round, and did moove circularly in his course)

course) is so perfectly true; as we which doe now live in *Peru*, see it visibly. Wherin experience should be of more force, then all Philosophicall demonstrations, being sufficient to proove that the Heaven is round, and comprehends and contaynes the earth within it of al parts. And to cleere any doubt that might grow, it sufficeth that I have seene in this our Hemisphere, that part of Heaven which turnes about this earth, the which was vnknowne to the Ancients: and have observed the two Poles, whereon the Heavens turne, as vpon their Axeltrees. I say, the Articke or North Pole, which those of *Europe* beholde, and the other Antarticke or Southerne Pole (whereof saint *Augustine* is in doubt) the which we change and take for the North here at *Peru*, having passed the Equinoctiall line. Finally, it sufficeth that I have sayled neere 70. degrees from North to South, that is, forty of the one side of the line, and 23. on the other, omitting at this present the testimony of others, which have sayled much farther then my selfe, & in a greater height, comming neere 70. degrees towards the South. Who will not confesse, but the ship called the *Victorie* (worthie doubtlesse of eternall memorie) hath wonne the honor and praise to have best discovered and compassed the round earth, yea, that great *Chaos*, and infidite Vast, which the ancient Philosophers affirmed to bee vnder the earth, having compassed about the worlde, and circled the vastnesse of the great *Oceans*. Who is hee then, that will not confesse by this Navigation, but the whole earth (although it were bigger then it is described) is subiect to the feet of man, seeing he may measure it? Thus, without doubt the Heaven is of a round and perfect figure; and the earth

Aug. lib. 2. de Genes. ad lit. cap. 10.

gr. 70 South

likewise imbracing and ioyning with the water, makes one globe or round bowle framed of these two elements, having their bounds & limits within their own roundnes & greatnes. The which may be sufficiently proved by reasons of Philosophie and Astrologie, leaving al subtil definitions commonly obiected. That, to the most perfect body, (which is the Heaven) we must give the most perfect figure, which without doubt is round: whose circular motion could not be firme nor equall in it selfe, if it had any corner or nooke of any side, or if it were crooked, (as of necessitie it must be) if the Sun, Moone & stars, made not their course about the whole world. But leaving all these reasons, it seemes that the Moone is sufficient in this case, as a faithfull witnesse of the Heaven it selfe, seeing that her Eclypse happens, but when as the roundnesse of the earth opposeth it selfe diametrally betwixt her and the Sunne, and by that meanes keepes the Sunne-beames from shining on her. The which could not chance, if the earth were not in the midst of the world compassed in and invironed by the whole Heaven. Some haue doubted whether the light of the Moone were borrowed from the brightnes of the Sunne: but it is needlesse, seeing there can bee found no other cause of the Eclipses, full, and quarters of the Moone, but the communication of the beames which proceed from the Sunne. In like sort if wee will carefully examine this matter, we shall finde that the darkenesse of the night proceedes from no other cause but from the shadow which the earth makes, not suffering the light of the sunne to passe to the other parte of the heaven, where his beames shine not. If then it be so, that the sunne passeth no farther, neyther doth cast his beames

Eeclypse

Aug. ep. 109. ad Ianuarium. cap. 4.

beames on the other part of the earth, but onely turnes about, and returnes to his ſetting, making a ridge vpon the earth by his turning, (the which he muſt of force confeſſe, that ſhall denie the roundnes of the heaven, ſeeing (according to their ſaying) the heaven as a baſen doth onely couer the face of the earth,) it ſhould then plainly follow, that wee could not obſerue the difference betwixt the daies and nights, the which in ſome regions be ſhort and long according to the ſeaſons, and in ſome are alwaies equall: the which S. *Auguſtine* noteth in his bookes *De Geneſ. ad litteram.* That we may eaſily comprehend the oppoſitions, converſions, elevations, deſcents, and all other aſpects and diſpoſitions of Planets and ſtarres, when we ſhall vnderſtand they move, and yet notwithſtanding the heaven remaines firme and immoveable. The which ſeemeth to me eaſie to comprehend, and will be to all others, if it may be lawfull to imagine that which my fancy doth conceive: for if we ſuppoſe that every ſtar and planet be a body of it ſelfe, & that it be led & guided by an Angell, as *Habacuc* was carried into *Babilon*: who I pray you is ſo blind, but ſeeth that all the diverſe aſpects which we ſee appeare in planets & ſtarres may proceede from the diuerſity of motion which he that guides them doth voluntarily giue them. We cannot then with any reaſon affirme, but that this ſpace & region by which they faine that ſtars do continually march and rowle, is elementarie and corruptible, ſeeing it divides it ſelfe when they paſſe, the which vndoubtedly do not paſſe by any void place. If then the region wherein the ſtarres and planets move, be corruptible, the ſtars and planets of their owne motion ſhould be, by reaſon likewiſe corruptible, and ſo by conſequence they

Auguſt. lib. de Geneſ. ad litteram. cap. 19.

Dan. 14.

must alter, change, and be finally extinct: for naturally that which is conteined is no more durable then that which conteineth. And to say that the Celestiall bodies be corruptible, it agreeth not with the psalme, *That God made them for euer*: And it is lesse conformable to the order & preservation of this vniversall world. I say moreover, to confirme this truth, that the heauens moue, and in them the starres march in turning, the which we cannot easily discerne with our eyes, seeing we see that not onely the starres do moue, but also the regions & whole parts of heaven: I speake not onely of the shining and most resplendent parts, as of that which we call *Via lactea*, and the vulgar, S. *Iaques* way; but also of the darker and obscurer parts in heaven. For there we see really, as it were spots and darkenes, which are most apparent: the which I remember not to haue seene at any time in Europe, but at *Peru*, and in this other *Hemisphere* I haue often seene them very apparant. These spots are in colour and forme like vnto the Eclips of the Moone, and are like vnto it in blacknes and darkenes: they march, fixed to the same starres, alwaies of one forme and bignes, as we haue noted by infallible observation. It may be this will seeme strange to some, & they will demand whence these spots in heaven should grow? To the which I cannot answere otherwise at this time, but (as the Philosophers do affirme) that this *Via lactea*, or milken way, is compounded of the thickest parts of the heaven: and for this cause it receiues the greater light, and contrariwise there are other parts very thinne and transparent, the which receiuing lesse light seeme more blacke & obscure. Whether this be the true reason or no, I dare not certenly affirme. Yet is it true, that according to the figure these spots haue in heaven, they moue with the same

Psal. 148.

same proportion with their starres without any separation: the which is a true, certaine, and often noted experience. It followeth then by all that we haue said, that the heaven containeth in it all the parts of the earth, circling continually about it, without any more doubt.

How the holy Scripture teacheth vs that the earth is in middest of the world. CHAP. 3.

ALthough it seemes to *Procopius*, *Gaza*, and to some others of his opinion, that it is repugnant to the holy Scripture to place the earth in the middest of the world, and to say that the heaven is round: yet in truth, this doctrine is not repugnant, but conformable to that which it doth teach vs. For laying aside the tearmes which the Scripture it selfe doth vse in many places, *The roundnesse of the earth*. And that which it sayeth in an other place, that whatsoever is corporeall, is vnironed and compassed in by the heavens, and conteyned within the roundnes thereof: at the least thy cannot deny, but that place of Ecclesiastes is very plaine, where it is said, *The Sunne riseth and sets, and returnes to the same place, and so begins to rise againe: he takes his course by the South, turning towards the North: this spirit march th compassing about all thinges, and then returnes to the same place*. In this place the paraphrase and exposition of *Gregorie Neocesarien*, or *Nazianzene*, sayeth, *The Sunne hauing runne about the whole earth, returnes as it were turning to the same point*. That which *Solomon* sayeth, (being interpreted by *Gregorie*) could not be trve, if any part of the

Hest. 13. *Sap.* 1.2 7.11. 18. *Psal.* 91.7.23. 39.97. *Iob* 37. *Eccles.* 1.

the earth were not invironed with the heaven. And so
Ierom. cap. 3. ad Ephes. S. *Ierome* doth vnderstand it, writing vpon the Epistle to the Ephesians, in this sort, *The most common opinion affirmes (agreeing with Ecclesiastes:)* That the heaven is round, mooving circularly like vnto a bowle. And it is most certaine, that no round figure conteyneth in it, eyther longitude, latitude, heigth or depth, for that all parts are equall. Whereby it appeares, according to S. *Ierome*, *That those which hold the heaven to be round, are not repugnant to the holy Scripture, but conformable to the*
Basil. hom. li. 1. Hexam. prope finem. *same.* And although that S. *Basile* especially, and S. *Ambrose* (who doth vsually imitate him in his bookes called *Hexameron*) seeme somewhat doubtfull of this point: yet in the end they grant that the world is round. It is true that S. *Ambrose* doth not yeelde to this quint-
Amb. lib. 10. Hexam cap. 6. essence, which *Aristotle* attributes to the heavens: without doubt it is a goodly thing to see with what a grace and excellent stile the holy Scripture treates of the scituation and firmenes of the earth, to breed in vs a wonderfull admiration, and no lesse content to behold the
Psal. 74. vnspeakable power and wisedome of the Creator. For that in one place, God himselfe saies, that it was hee which planted the pillers which support the earth: gi-
Amb. 1. Hexa. ving vs to vnderstand (as S. *Ambrose* doth well expound it) that the vnmeasurable weight of the whole earth is held vp by the hands of the divine power. The holy Scripture doth commonly so call them, and vseth this phrase, naming them the pillers of heaven and earth: not those of *Atlas*, as the Poets faine: but of the eternall word of God, who by his vertue supports both heaven and earth. Moreover, the holy Scripture
Iob. 9 26. in an other place teacheth, that the earth, or a great part thereof, is ioyned to, and compassed in by the Ele-

ment

ment of water, speaking generally, that God placed the earth vpon the waters. And in another place, that hee framed the roundnes of the earth vpon the Sea. And although S. *Augustine* doth not conclude vpon this text as a matter of faith, that the earth and the water make one globe in the midst of the world, pretending by this meanes to give another exposition to the words of the Psalme: yet notwithstanding it is most certaine, that by the words of the psalme we are given to vnderstand, that we haue no other reason to imagine any other ciment or vniting to the earth then the Element of water, the which although it be pliant and moveable, yet doth it support and inviron this great masse of the earth, the which was wrought by the wisedome of that great Architect. They say, the earth is built vpon the waters, and vpon the sea: but contrariwise, the earth is rather vnder the waters: for according to common iudgement and imagination, that which is on the other part of the earth which we inhabite, seemes to be vnder the earth, and so by the same reason, the waters and sea, which doe compasse in the earth on the other part, should be vnderneath, and the earth aboue: yet the very truth is, that what is properly beneath, that is alwaies in the midst of the vniversall: but the holy scripture frames it selfe to our manner of conceiving and speaking. Some may demaund (seeing the earth is set vpon the waters, as the scripture sayeth,) whereon the waters are placed, or what support have they? And if the earth and the water make one round globe, how can all this monstrous masse be sustayned? To this the holy scripture answereth them in another place, giving vs greatest cause to admire the power of the Creator: and saith in these wordes: *The earth extends towards the*

Hebr. 1.

Aug. in Psal. 135

Iob. 26.

North

North vpon the Vast, and stayes hanging vpon nothing. The which in trueth is very well spoken, for that really it seemes this heape of earth and water is set vpon nothing, when we describe it in the middest of the ayre, as in trueth it is. But this wonder which men so much admire, God himselfe hath not layd open, demanding
Iob. 38. of the same *Iob* in these termes: *Tell mee if thou canst, who hath layd the lyne or cast the lead for the building of the world, and with what morter the foundations have beene layed and ioyned.* Finally, to make vs vnderstand the fashion and modell of this admirable frame of the world, the Prophet *Dauid* accustomed to sing and praise his divine works, saies very well in a Psalme made
Psal. 103. of this subiect, in these wordes, *Thou which hast built the earth vpon firmenes it selfe, that it cannot stagger nor move for ever and ever.* Meaning to shew the cause why the earth set in the midst of the ayre, falleth not, nor staggereth from place to place, for that by nature it hath sure foundations, layed by the most wise Creator, to the end it might sustaine it selfe without any other support. Mans imagination is therefore deceived in this place, seeking other foundations of the earth, and for want thereof, doth measure divine things, according to humaine reason. So that we neede not to feare (how great or heavy soever this masse of earth then hanging in the aire seemeth to be,) that it can fal or turne topsy turuy, being assured vpon this point: for that the same Psalmist saieth, that it shall neuer be overthrowne. Truly *Dauid* with reason (after he had beheld and sung the wonder-
Psal. 103. full workes of the Lord) doth not cease to praise him in the same, saying, *O how great & wonderfull are the workes of the Lord.* It appeares that all spring from his knowledge. And in truth (if I shall freely speake my opinion tou-

touching this point) often in my trauell passing the great gulfes of the *Ocean*, and marching by other regions of so strange lands, staying to behold and consider the greatnes of these workes of the Lord, I felt a wonderfull consolation of the soveraigne wisedome and greatnes of the Creator, who shines in his works: in comparison whereof, all the Pallaces, Castells, and princely buildings, together with all the inventions of man, seeme nothing, yea, are base and contemptible in respect thereof. O how often hath come into my minde and mouth that place of the Psalme, which sayeth thus, *Great comfort hast thou given me O Lord by thy workes: I will not cease to reioyce in the contemplation of the workes of thy hands.* Really and in truth, the workes of God haue (I know not what) secret & hidden grace and vertue: the which although they be often beheld, yet do they still cause a new taste and content: whereas contrariwise, the workes of man, although they be built with exquisite art, yet often seene, they are no more esteemed, but breede a distaste: be they most pleasant Gardins, Pallaces, or stately Temples, be they Piramides of proud buildings, Pictures, carved images, or stones of rare worke and invention, or whatsoever else adorned with all the beauties possible: Yet is it most certen that viewing them twice or thrice with attention, the eye presently turnes away, being glutted with the sight thereof. But if you beholde the sea with attention, or some steepe mountaine, growing from a plaine to a strange heigth, or the fieldes clad in their naturall verdure with pleasant flowres, or the raging course of some river, beating continually against the rocks: finally, what worke of nature soever, although it be often viewed, yet doth it still breede a new content and never

ver gluttes the sight: the which is like vnto a stately bancket of the divine wisedom, which doth alwaies cause a new consideration without any lothing.

Containing an answere to that which is obiected out of the holy Scripture, against the roundnes of the earth.

CHAP. 4.

RE turning then to the figure of heaven, I know not out of what authoritie of the holy scripture they can prove that it is not round, nor his motion circular: neither do I see (whereas S. *Paul* calles the heaven a Ta-
Heb.8. bernacle, or a Tent which God made, & not man:) how can it be applied to this purpose: for although he telleth vs that it was made by God, yet must we not therefore coniecture that the heaven covereth the earth like to a roose on the one part only, neither that the heaven was framed without motion, as it seemes some would inferre. The Apostle in this place treated of the conformity of the auncient Tabernacle of the lawe, saying therevpon, that the Tabernacle of the new law of grace, is heaven: into the which, the great Priest Iesus Christ, entred once by his bloud: and thereby is vnderstood, that there is as great prehemínence of the new aboue the old, as there is difference betwixt the author of the new, which is God, and of the olde which was man: although it be most certen, that the olde was built by the wisedome of God, who instructed his workeman
Exo.36. *Bezeleell.* Neither must we imagine that these comparisons, parables, and allegories, doe in all thinges agree with

with that wherevnto they are applyed, as the happy *Cryſoſtome* hath learnedly ſpoken vpon this point. The other authoritie (which S. *Auguſtine* ſaies is alleaged of ſome to ſhew that the heaven is not round) is this, *The heavens ſtretch forth like vnto a skin.* Whereby he concludes that it is not round, but flat on the vpper part, wherevnto the ſame Doctor doth anſwere verie well and familiarly, giuing vs to vnderſtand that that place of the Pſalme, is not properly to be vnderſtood of the figure of heaven, but onely to ſhew with what facilitie God built ſo great a heaven, being no more painefull for him to build ſo huge a couer as the heaven is, then to vnfould a double skin. Or elſe the Pſalmiſt pretending to ſhew vs the great maieſty of God, to whome the heaven with his greatnes and beautie doth ſerve in like manner, as our tents and pavilions in the field. The which was well expreſſed by a Poet calling it, *The Tent of the cleere heaven*. In like ſort, the place of *Iſaii*, which ſayeth, *Heaven ſerves mee as a chaire, and the earth for a foote-ſtoole*. But if wee follow the error of the *Antromorphites*, which did atribute corporall members vnto God, according to his divinitie: we ſhould haue occaſion vppon this laſt text, to examine how it were poſſible the earth ſhould be a foote-ſtoole to Gods feete, and how the ſame God could hold his feete of the one part and the other, and many heads round about, ſeeing that hee is in all partes of the world, which were a vaine and ridiculous thing. Wee muſt therefore conclude, that in the holy ſcriptures we ought not to follow the letter which killes, but the ſpirit which quickneth, as ſaith S. *Paul*.

Chriſoſt. in 20. cap.

Pſal. 103.

Aug. 2. de Gen. ad litteram. ca. 9.

Iſaie. 66.

2. Corin. 3.

Of the fashion and forme of Heaven, at the new-found world. CHAP. 5.

MAny in *Europe* demaund of what forme and fashion Heaven is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient bookes, who although they graunt there is a Heaven on this other part of the world, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in trueth they make mention of a goodly great Starre seene in those partes, which they call *Canopus*. Those which of late dayes have sayled into these parts, have accustomed to write strange things of this heaven; that it is very bright, having many goodly starres: and in effect, thinges which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrary vnto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater nomber and bigger Starres; finding no starres in these partes, which exceed the Fisher or the Chariot in bigneſſe. It is true, that the Crosse in these partes is very fayre and pleasing to behold: wee call the Crosse, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this Crosse to be the southerne Pole, for that they see the Navigators take their heigth thereby, as we are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceyved, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this sorte, is for that in the South parts there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their heigth by the

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 22.

starre

starre at the foot of the Crosse, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the heigth in those parts, for that the sayd starre at the foote of the Crosse must bee right, the which chanceth but in one houre of the night; which is in divers seasons of the yeere in divers houres, and often times it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the heigth. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the Crosse, taking the heigth of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the Portugals are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Navigation then any other. There are also other starres in these southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the Milken way, is larger and more resplendent in the south parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof wee have made mention. As for other particularities, let others speake of them with greater curiositie, and let this which wee have sayde, suffice for this time. *Via lactea.*

That there is Land and Sea vnder the two Poles.

Chap. 6.

It is no smal labour to have vnfolded this doubt with this knowledge and resolution, that there is a Heaven in these parts of the *Indies*, which doth cover them

as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affricke*. And this point serveth often against many Spaniards, who beeing here, sigh for *Spaine*, having no discourse, but of their countrie, They wonder, yea, they grow discontented with vs, imagining that we have forgotten & make small accompt of our native soyle. To whom we answere, that the desire to returne into *Spaine*, doth nothing trouble vs, being as neere vnto Heaven at *Peru*, as in *Spaine*: as saint *Ierome* saith well, writing vnto *Paulinus*; That the gates of Heaven are as neere vnto *Brittanie*, as to *Ieruſalem*. But although the Heaven doth compasse in the world of all parts, yet must we not imagine that there is land necessarily on all parts of the world. For being so, that the two elements of earth and water make one globe or bowle, according to the opinion of the most renowmed ancient Authors, (as *Plutarch* testifieth) and as it is prooved by most certaine demonstrations, wee may coniecture, that the sea doth occupie all this part, which is vnder the Antartike or southerne Pole, so as there should not remaine any place in these partes for the earth, the which saint *Augustine* doth very learnedly hold against them that maintaine the *Antipodes*, saying, that although it bee prooved, and wee beleeve that the worlde is round like to a bowle, wee may not therefore inferre, that in this other part of the worlde, the earth is vncovered, and without water. Without doubt, saint *Augustine* speakes well vpon this point; and as the contrary is not prooved, so doth it not follow, that there is any land discovered at the Antarticke Pole. The which experience hath now plainely taught vs, for although the greatest part of the worlde vnder the Pole Antarticke be sea, yet is it not altogether, but there is likewise land, so as in all parts of the world, the

Plut. li. de placitis phil. cap. 9. & 11.

Aug. lib. 16. de civit. cap. 9.

earth

earth and water imbrace one another, which truely is a thing to make vs admire and glorifie the Arte of the soveraigne Creator. We know then by the holy Scripture, that in the beginning of the worlde, the waters were gathered together in one place; so as the earth remayned vncovered. Moreover, the same holy Writte doth teach vs, that these gatherings together of the water were called Sea; and as there be many, so of necessitie there must be many Seas. And this diversitie of seas is not onely in the *Mediterranean* Sea, whereas one is called *Euxine*, another the *Caspian*, an other the *Erethean* or redde Sea, an other the *Persian*, an other of *Italie*, and so many others. But also in the great *Ocean*, which the holy Scripture doth vsually call a gulph: although really and in trueth it be but a Sea, yet in many and divers manners: as in respect of *Peru* and all *America*, the one is called the North Sea, the other the South; and at the East Indies, the one is called the *Indian* sea, the other that of *China*. And I have observed, as well by my owne navigation, as by the relation of others, that the Sea is never divided from the Lande above a thousand Leagues. And although the great *Ocean* stretcheth farre, yet doth it never passe this measure. I will not for all this affirme that wee sayle not above a thousand leagues in the *Ocean*, which were repugnant to trueth, being well knowne that the shippes of *Portugal* have sailed foure times as much, and more; and that the whole world may bee compassed about by sea, as wee have seene in these dayes, without any further doubt. But I say and affirme, that of that which is at this day discovered, there is no land distant from an other firme land, by direct line, or from some Islands neere vnto it above a thousand leagues, and so betwixt two firme

Genes.1.

1000 leagues

lands there is no greater distance of sea, accompting from the neereſt parts of both the lands: for from the end of *Europe* or *Affricke* and their coaſtes, to the *Canaries*, the Iſles of *Acores*, *Cape Verd* and others in the like degree, are not above three hundred leagues, or five hundred from the Mayne land. From the ſaide Ilands running along to the Weſt *Indies*, there are ſcant nine hundred leagues, to the Ilands of ſaint *Dominick*, the Virgins, the Happy Ilandes and the reſt; and the ſame Ilands runne along in order to the Ilandes of *Barlovent* which are *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Boriquen*; from the ſame Ilands vnto the Mayne land are ſcarce two or three hundred leagues, & in the neereſt part farre leſſe.

firme Land. The firme land runnes an infinite ſpace; from *Terra Florida* to the land of *Patagons*, and on the other ſide of the South, from the Straight of *Maggellan*, to the Cape of *Mendoce*, there runnes a long Continent but not very large: for the largeſt is the Travers of *Peru*, which is diſtant from *Braſil* about a thouſand leagues. In this

Southe ſea. South Sea, although they have not yet diſcovered the ende towards the Weſt, yet of late they have found out the Ilands, which they call *Salomon*, the which are many and great, diſtant from *Peru* about eyght hundred leagues. And for that wee finde by obſervation, that whereas there bee many and great Ilandes, ſo there is ſome firme Land not farre off, I my ſelfe with many others doe beleeve, that there is ſome firme land neere vnto the Ilands of *Salomon*, the which doth anſwere vnto our *America* on the Weſt part, and poſſibly might runne by the heigth of the South, to the Straightes

wba Guinea of *Maggellan*. Some hold, that *Nova Guinea* is firme Land, and ſome learned men deſcribe it neere to the Ilands of *Salomon*; ſo as it is likely, a good parte of the

world

world is not yet discovered, seeing at this day our men sayle in the South Sea vnto *China* and the *Philippines*: and wee say, that to go from *Peru* to those parts, they passe a greater Sea, then in going from *Spaine* to *Peru*. Moreover, wee know, that by that famous Straight of *Maggellan* these two Seas doe ioyne and continue one with an other (I say the South sea with that of the North) by that part of the Antarticke Pole, which is in fiftie one degrees of altitude. But it is a great question (wherein many have busied themselves) whether these two Seas ioyne together in the North part: but I have not heard, that any vnto this day, could attayne vnto this point, but by certaine likelihoods and coniectures, some affirme, there is an other Straight vnder the North, opposite to that of *Maggellan*. But it sufficeth for our subiect, to knowe, that there is a firme Land on this Southerne part, as bigge as all *Europe*, *Asia* and *Affricke*: that vnder both the Poles we finde both land and sea, one imbracing an other. Whereof the Ancients might stand in doubt, and contradict it for want of experience.

Magellan 52. gr. 51.

To confute the opinion of Lactantius, *who holdes there be no Antipodes.* CHAP. 7.

SEeing it is manifest, that there is firme land vpon the South part or Pole *Antartike*, wee must now see if it be inhabited: the which hath bene a matter very disputable in former times. *Lactantius Firmian*, and S. *Augustine* mocke at such as hold there be any Anti-

Lact. lib. 7. inst. divin. cap. 23.

Aug. lib. 16. de ciuitate. c. 9.

podes, (which is as much to say, as men marching with their feete oppoſite to ours. But although theſe two authors agree in theis iceaſts, yet doe they differ much in their reaſons and opinions, as they were of very divers ſpirits and iudgements. *Lactantius* followes the vulgar, ſeeming ridiculous vnto him that the heaven ſhould be round, and that the earth ſhould bee compaſſed in the midſt thereof, like vnto a ball, whereof he writes in theſe tearmes, *What reaſon is there for ſome to affirme, that there are Antipodes, whoſe ſteppes are oppoſite to ours? Is it poſsible that any ſhould bee ſo groſſe and ſimple as to beleeve there were a people or nation marching with their feete vpwardes, and their heades downwardes, and that thinges which are placed heere of one ſort, are in that other part hanging topſie turvie: that trees and corne growe downwardes, and that raine, ſnow, & haile, fall from the earth vpward.* Then after ſome other diſcourſe, the ſame *Lactantius* vſeth theſe words, *The imagination and conceit which ſome haue had, ſuppoſing the heaven to be round, hath bene the cauſe to invent theſe Antipodes hanging in the aire. So as I knowe not what to ſay of ſuch Philoſophers, whoe having once erred, continue ſtill obſtinately in their opiniens defending one another.* But whatſoever he ſaieth, wee that live now at *Peru*, and inhabite that part of the world which is oposite to *Aſia* and their Antipodes (as the Coſmographers do teach vs) finde not our ſelves to bee hanging in the aire, our heades downward, and our feete on high. Truly it is ſtrange to conſider, that the ſpirit and vnderſtanding of man cannot attaine vnto the trueth, without the vſe of imagination: and on the other part, it were impoſſible but he ſhould erre and be deceived, if hee ſhould wholy for-

forbeare it. We cannot comprehend the heaven to be round as it is, and the earth to bee in the middeſt of it, without imagination. But if this imagination were not controuled and reformed by reaſon, in the end we ſhould bee deceiued; whereby we may certainely conclude, that in our ſoules there is a certaine light of heaven, whereby wee ſee and iudge of the interior formes which preſent themſelves vnto vs, and by the ſame we alow of, or reiect that which imagination doth offer vnto vs. Hereby we ſee that the rationall ſoule is above all corporall powers: and as the force and etenall vigour of truth doth rule in the moſt eminent part of man: yea, we plainely ſee that this pure light is participant and proceedes from that firſt great light, that whoſo knoweth not this, or doubteth thereof, we may well ſay that he is igmorant, or doubtes whether he be a man or no. So, if we ſhall demaund of our imagination what it thinkes of the roundnes of heaven, without doubt ſhe will anſwere vs as *Lactantius* doth, That if the heaven were round, the Sun & ſtarres ſhould fall, when as they move and change their places, riſing towards the South. Even ſo, if the earth did hang in the ayre, thoſe which inhabite the other part, ſhould go with their feete vpwards, and their heades downward, and the raine which falles from above, ſhould mount vpward, with many other ridiculous deformities. But if we conſult with the force of reaſon, ſhe will make ſmall accoumpt of all theſe vaine imaginations, nor ſuffer vs to beleeve them no more than a fooliſh dreame. But Reaſon will anſwer with this her integritie and gravitie, that it were a very groſſe error, to imagine the whole world to be like vnto a houſe, placing the earth for the foundation, and the heaven

for the covering. Moreover she will say, that as in all creatures the head is the highest part and most elevated, although all creatures have not heades placed in one, and the same scituation, some being in the highest part, as man, some athwart, as sheepe, others in the middest, as spiders:) even so the heaven, in what part soeuer it be, remaines above, and the earth likewise in what part soever, remaines vnderneath. Our imagination therefore is grounded vpon time and place, the which she cannot comprehend nor conceive in generall, but in particular. It followeth, that when wee shall raise it to the consideration of things which exceede the time and place which are knowne vnto her, then presently she shrinkes and cannot subsist, if reason doth not support her. In like sort we see, vpon the discourse of the creation of the worlde, our imagination straies to seeke out a time before the creation thereof, and to build the world: she discribes a place, but shee comes not to consider that the worlde might bee made after another fashion. Notwithstanding, reason doth teach vs, that there was no time before there was a motion, whereof time is the measure, neyther was there any place before the vniversall, which comprehendes within it all place. Wherein the excellent Philosopher *Aristotle* doth plainely satisfie (and in few wordes) that argument made against the place of the earth, helping himselfe with our vse of imagination, when hee sayeth, and with trueth, *That in the world the same place of the earth is in the midst and beneath, and the more a thing is in the middest, the more it is vnderneath.* The which answer being produced by *Lactantius Firmian*, yet hee doth passe it over without confu-

Arist. 1. de Cel. ca. 3.

Aristotel.

tation,

tation, by reason, saying that he cannot stay thereon, and omitte the handling of other matters.

The reason why S. Augustine *denied the Antipodes.*

Chap. 8.

S. Augustin

THe reason which moued S. *Augustine* to deny the *Antipodes*, was other then that formerly alleadged, being of a higher iudgement, for the reson before mentioned (that the *Antipodes* should go vpwards) is confuted by the same Doctor in his booke of sermons in these words, *The ancients hold, that the earth of all parts is beneath, and the heaven above, by reason whereof the Antipodes, which they say go opposite vnto vs, have like vnto vs the heaven above their heads.* Seeing then S. *Augustine* hath confessed this to bee conformable to good Philosophie, what reason shall we say did move so learned and excellent a man to follow the contrary opinion? Doubtlesse he drew the motive and cause from the bowels of divinitie, whereby the holie Writ doth teach vs, that all mankinde doth come from the first man *Adam*: and to say that men could passe to that new world, crossing the great *Ocean*, were vncredible, and a meere lye. And in truth, if the successe an experience of what we have seene in these ages, had not satisfied vs in this point, we had yet held this reason to bee good. And although we know this reason neither to be pertinent nor true, yet will we make answere therevnto, shewing in what sort, and by what meanes, the first linage of men might passe thither, and howe and by what meanes they came to people and inhabite the Indies.

Aug. lib. Catechumenacum. c. 10. in tomo. 1.

Indies. And for that wee meane hereafter to intreat briefly of this subiect, it shall be fit now to vnderstand what the holy Doctor *Augustine* disputes vppon this matter in his bookes of the cittie of God, *It is no point that we ought to beleeve (as some affirme) that there are* Antipodes, *that is to say, men which inhabite that other part of the earth, in whose region the Sunne riseth when it sets with vs, and that their steppes be opposite and contrarie to ours, seeing they affirme not this by any certaine revelation which they have, but onely by a Philosophicall discourse they make, whereby they conclude, that the earth being in the middest of the world, invironed of all parts and covered equallie with the heaven, of necessitie that must be in the lowest place which is in the midst of the world.* Afterwardes hee continues in these words, *The holie Scripture doth not erre, neither is deceived in anie sort: the truth whereof is well approved in that which it propoundeth of things which are passed, for as much as that which hath bene fore-told, hath succeded in every point, as we see: And it is a thing voide of all sense, to say, that men could passe from this continent to the new found world & cut through the Vast Ocean, seeing it were impossible for men to passe into those parts any other way, being most certain that al men descēd from the first man.* Wherein we see, that all the difficultie S. *Augustine* hath found, was nothing else but the incomparable greatnes of this vast *Ocean*. *Gregorie Nazianzene* was of the same opinion, assuring (as a matter without any doubt) that it was not possible to saile beyond the Straights of *Gibraltar*: and vpon this subiect he writes in an Epistle of his: *I agree well with the saying of* Pindarus, *That past Cadiz, that Sea is not nauigable.* And hee himselfe in the funerall Sermon he made for saint *Basil* saith: *It was not tollerable for anie one sailing on the Sea, to passe the*

Lib. 16. cap. 9

Nazian. epist. 27. ad Posthumium.

Straight

Straight of Gibraltar. And it is true, that this place of *Pindarus*, where he ſaith, *That it is not lawfull, neyther for wiſe men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the Straight of Gibraltar*, hath beene taken for a Proverbe. Thus we ſee by the beginning of this Proverbe, how the Ancients were obſtinately ſetled in this opinion; as alſo by the bookes of Poets, Hiſtoriographers and ancient Coſmographers, that the end and bounds of the earth were ſet at *Cadiz* in *Spaine*: where they plant the pillars of *Hercules*: there they ſet the limits of the Romane Empire, and there they deſcribe the boundes of the world. And not onely prophane writers ſpeake in this ſort, but alſo the holy Scripture, to apply it ſelfe to our phraſe ſaith, *That the edict of* Auguſtus Cæſar *was publiſhed, to the end that all the world ſhould be taxed: and of* Alexander *the great, that he ſtretched forth his Empire even to the end and vttermoſt bounds of the earth.* And in another place they ſay, that the Goſpell did flouriſh and increaſe through the vniverſall world. For the holy Scripture by an vſuall phraſe, calleth all the worlde, that which is the greateſt part thereof, and was at that time diſcovered and knowne. And the Ancients were ignorant, that the Eaſt *Indian* Sea, and that of the Weſt were navigable, wherin they have generally agreed. By reaſon whereof, *Plinie* writes as a certaine trueth, that the ſeas which are betwixt two lands, takes from vs a iuſt moitie of the habitable earth. For ſaith he, we cannot paſſe thither, neyther they come hither. Finally, *Tullie*, *Macrobius*, *Pomponius Mela*, and the ancient Writers hold the ſame opinion.

of

Of Aristotles opinion, touching the new Worlde, and what abused him to make him deny it. CHAP. 9.

BEsides all the former reasons, there was yet an other, which mooved the Ancients to beleeve it to be impossible for men to passe to this new world: the which they held; for that besides the vastnesse of the great *Ocean*, the heate of that Region, which they call the burning *Zone*, was so excessive, as it would not suffer any man, how venturous or laborious so-ever, to passe by sea or land, from one Pole to an other. For although these Philosophers have themselves affirmed, that the earth was round, (as in effect it is) and that vnder the 2. Poles there was habitable land; yet could they not conceyve, that the Region, containing all that lyeth betwixt the two Tropickes, (which is the greatest of the five *Zones* or Regions, by the which the Cosmographers and Astrologers divide rhe Worlde) might be inhabited by man. The reason they give to maintaine this *Zone* to be inhabitable, was, for the heat of the Sunne, which makes his course directly over this Region, and approcheth so neere, as it is set on fire, and so by consequence, causeth a want of waters and pastures. *Aristotle* was of this opinion, who although he were a great Philosopher, yet was hee deceyved in this poynt: for the cleering whereof, it shall be good to obserue his reasons, and to note wherein he hath discourſed well, and wherein he hath erred. This Philosopher makes a question of the Meridionall or Southerne winde, whether wee should beleeve it takes his

Arist. 2. Meta cap. 5.

beginning

beginning from the South, or from the other Pole contrary to the North, and writes in these termes. *Reason teacheth vs, that the latitude and largenesse of the habitable earth, hath her boundes and limits, and yet all this habitable earth cannot bee vnited and ioyned one to the other, by reason the middle Region is so intemperate. For it is certaine, that in her longitude, which is from East to West, there is no immoderate cold nor heate, but in her latitude and heigth, which is from the Pole to the Equinoctiall Line. So as we may well passe the whole earth in her longitude, if the greatnesse of the Sea, which ioynes lands together, were no hinderance.* Hitherto there is no contradicting of *Aristotle*, who hath great reason to affirme, that the earth in her longitude, which is from East to West, runnes more equally, & is more proper for the life and habitation of man, then in her latitude from North to South. The which is true, not onely for this foresaid reason of *Aristotle*, that there is alwayes one temperature of the Heavens from East to West, being equally distant both from the Northerne colde and the Southerne heate. But also for an other reason, for that travelling alwayes in longitude, we see the dayes and nights succeed one another by course, the which falleth not out going in her latitude: for of necessitie wee must come to that Region vnder the Pole, whereas there is continuall night for sixe Moneths, a very inconvenient thing for the life of man. The Philosopher passeth on further, reprooving the Geographers, which described the earth in his time, and saith thus: *Wee may discerne the trueth of that which I have sayd, by the passages which may be made by land, and the navigations by sea, for there is a great difference betwixt the longitude and the latitude, for the distance from the pillars of* Hercules, *at the Straight of* Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, *vnto the East* Indies, *exceeds the proportion of above five to three, the passage which is from* Ethiopia *to the lake of* Meotis *in the farthest confines of* Scythia, *the which is confirmed by the account of iourneyes by land, & by sayling, as we do now know by experience: we have also knowledge of the habitable earth, even vnto those partes which are inhabitable.* And truely in this point wee must pardon *Aristotle*, seeing that in his time, they had not discovered beyond the first *Ethiopia*, called the *exterior*, ioyning to *Arabia* and *Affricke*, the other *Ethiopia* being wholy vnknowne in his age: Yea, all that great Land, which we now call the Land of *Prete Ian*, neyther had they any knowledge of the rest that lyes vnder the *Equinoctiall*, and runnes beyond the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, vnto the Cape of good Hope, so famous and well knowne by the navigation of Portugals; so as if wee measure the Land from this Cape vnto *Scythia* and *Tartaria*, there is no doubt, but this distance and latitude, will proove as great as the longitude, which is from *Gibraltar* vnto the East *Indies*. It is certaine, the Ancients had no knowledge of the springs of *Nilus*, nor of the ende of *Ethiopia*, and therefore *Lucan* reprooves the curiositie of *Iulius Cæsar*, searching out the springs of *Nilus* in these verses;

O Romaine *what availes thee so much travell,*
In search of Niles *first source thy selfe to gravell.*

Lucan. 10. Pharsal.

And the same Poet, speaking to *Nile* sayth:

Since thy first source is yet so vnrevealed,
Nile, *what thou art, is from the world concealed.*

But by the holy scripture we may conceive that this land is habitable: for if it were not, the Prophet *Sophonias* would not say (speaking of these nations called to the Gospell,) *The children of my dispersed (so he*

Soph. ca. 3.

calleth

calleth the Apostles) shall bring me presents from beyond the bancks of Ethiopia. Yet (as I have said) there is reason to pardon the Philosopher, who beleeved the writers and Cosmographers of his time. Let vs continue and examine what followes of the same *Aristotle*: *One part of the world (saith he) which lieth towards the North, beyond the temperate zone, is inhabitable for the exceeding cold: the other part vpon the South, is likewise inhabitable beyond the Tropicke for the extreame heate. But the partes of the world lying beyond India on the one side, and the pillers of* Hercules *on the other, without doubt cannot bee ioyned and continued one with the other: so as all the habitable earth is not conteined in one continent, by reason of the sea which divides it.* In this last point he speakes truth; then hee continues touching the other partes of the world, saying, *It is necessarie the earth should have the same proportion with the Pole Antarticke, as this our part which is habitable hath with the North: and there is no doubt, but in that other world all things should be ordred as in ours, especially in the growing and order of the winds.* And having alleaged other reasons to no purpose, he concludes, saying, *We must confesse of necessitie, that the Southerne wind is that which blowes and comes from the burning zone, the which being so neere the sunne, wantes water and pastures.* This is *Aristotles* opinion, and in truth, mans coniecture can hardly passe any farther. So as I do often consider (with a Christian contemplation) how weake the Philosophie of the wise of this world hath beene in the search of divine things, seeing in humaine things (wherein they seeme so well read) they often erre. *Aristotle* holds, that the habitable earth of the Pole *Antartike*, in longitude from East to West is very great, and in latitude from the Pole *Antartike*

to

to the Equinoctiall is very ſmall: the which is ſo contrary to the truth, that in a maner all the habitation on this ſide the Pole *Antartike* is in latitude, (I meane from the Pole to the line) and in longitude from Eaſt to Weſt it is ſo ſmall, as the latitude exceedes it three partes or more. In his other opinion he affirmes, that the middle region is inhabitable, being vnder the burning zone, burnt vp by the exceſſive heate cauſed by the neerenes of the ſunne, and by this reaſon hath neither waters nor paſtures. The which is in like ſort contrary: for the greateſt part of this new world, is ſcituated betwixt the two Tropickes vnder the burning zone, and yet is it found very well peopled and inhabited by men and other ſortes of creatures, being a region of all the world the moſt fruirfull of waters and paſtures, and very temperate in the greateſt part, which the will of God hath ſo appointed, to ſhew that even in naturall things he hath confounded the wiſedome of this world. To conclude, wee muſt beleeve that the burning zone is well inhabited, although the auncients have held it impoſſible. But the other zone or region, which lyeth betwixt the burning zone and that of the Pole Antartike, although it bee in a climate more commodious for the life of man, yet is it ſmally peopled and inhabited, ſeeing wee know no other dwelling in it but the Kingdome of *Chile* and a ſmall portion ioyning to the Cape of good *Hope*. The reſt is poſſeſſed by the *Ocean*. Although many be of opinion (the which I likewiſe hold) that there is much more land not yet diſcovered, the which ſhould be firme land oppoſite to the Kingdome of *Chile*, which runnes beyond the circkle or Tropicke of capricorne. And if there be any: without doubt it is a land of an excellent

lent temper, being in the midst of two extreames, and scituate in the same climate with the best regions in Europe. And in this regarde *Aristotles* coniecture was good. But speaking of what is discovered at this day in this zone, it is little in regard of the large countries inhabited vnder the burning zone.

That Plinie, *and the auncients, held the same opinion with* Aristotle. CHAP. 10.

THis opinion of *Aristotles*, hath bene held by *Plinie*, who saith thus, *The temperature of the middle region of the world, where the sunne continually runnes his course, is scorched and burnt up as with a neere fire.* Ioyning to the same region, there are two others of eyther side, which (lying betwixt the heat of this burning zone & the cruell cold of the other two extreams,) are very temperate, and can have no communication one with another, by reason of the excessive heate of the heaven: which hath bene the opinion of the Ancients, generally discribed by the Poet in these verses. *Plin. lib. 2. cap. 61.*

Heavens circuit is of fiue Zones, one whereof,
Which still the sunne burnes, makes the earth below
With flames intempestiue red hotte to glow.

And the same Poet in another place.

Heare this, if any harbour in that seate
Whose quarter vnder that large Zone is set
Amidst foure others by the sunne enlightned.

And another Poet speakes more plainely.

As many regions are there on the ground,
As are in heaven, wherein fiue parts are found,
Whereof the midst, through heate raisd from the rayes
Of scorching sunne, inhabitable staies.

The Auncients haue grounded their generall opinion vpon one reason, which seemed to them certaine and not to be confuted: for finding that the more a region drew neere vnto the South, the hotter it was: the proofe whereof was so infallible in those regions, as by the same reason in *Italie*, *Apulia* is hotter then *Tuscane*, and in *Spaine Andelozia* then *Biscaie*. A thing so apparent; that although there bee but eight degrees difference or lesse betwixt the one and the other, yet do wee finde the one extreame hotte, and the other very colde, whereby they did inferre, that the region so neere the South, having the sunne so directly for zenith, must of necessity bee continually scorched with heate. They did likewise see, that the divers seasons of the yeere, as the Spring, Summer, Autumne & Winter, were caused by the neerenes and distance of the sunne, finding also that although they were farre from the Tropicke, by which the sunne doth passe in summer; yet when it approched neere vnto them, at the same season they felt great heate. Whereby they did coniecture, that if they had had the sunne so neere vnto them as to go directly over their heads, the heate would have bene so insupportable, as it would burne and consume men with the vehemency thereof. The same reason moved the Auncients, to thinke that the middle region was not habitable, and therefore they called it the burning zone. And in truth, if visible experience did not vnfold this doubt, we should yet confesse, that this reason were very peremptorie

and

and Mathematicall: whereby we may see how weake our vnderstanding is, to comprehend these naturall things. But wee may say, it is fallen out to the great good and happines of our age, to have the knowledge of these two great wonders, that is, to know how easily we may saile through the great Ocean, and that vnder the burning zone men inioy a very temperate heaven, the which the Auncients could never beleeve. Of the last of these two wonders, touching the qualitie and habitation of the burning zone, by the grace of God we will discourse amply thereof in the next booke. I thinke it therefore fit in this booke to treat of the maner of sailing through the Ocean, for that it imports vs much for the subiect of this worke. But before wee come to this point, it shall be good to shew what the Auncients thought of these new men, whome we call Indians.

That in ancient Bookes we finde some knowledge of this newe world. CHAP. II.

LEt vs returne to that which hath beene formerly spoken. Wee must necessarily conclude, that the Ancients did beleeve, that eyther there were no men beyond the Tropicke of *Cancer* (as S. *Augustine* and *Lactantius* doe affirme) or if there were any, at the leaste they did not inhabite betwixt the two Tropicks, (as *Aristotle* and *Plinie* have maintained, and before them the Philosopher *Parmenides*) the contrarie whereof is before sufficiently prooved; both for the

Plutarch. 3. de placitis phil. cap. 11.

one and the other. But many through curiositie may demaund, if the Ancients had no knowledge of this trueth, which to vs is now so apparent: seeing that in trueth it seemeth very strange, that this newe worlde which is so spacious as we doe visibly see it, should be hidden from the Ancients by so many ages. But some at this day, seeking to obscure the felicitie of this age, and the glory of our Nation, strive to proove, that the new-found world was knowne to the Ancients. And in trueth wee cannot deny, but there was some apparency. S. *Ierome* writing vpon the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, sayth, *We seeke with reason what the Apostle meaneth in these wordes, where he saith: you have walked for a season according to the course of this world, whether he would have vs to understand, that there is an other world, which neither is, nor depends of this world: but other worldes, whereof* Clement *writes in his Epistle, the Ocean and the worldes which are beyond the Ocean:* These are the wordes of S. *Ierome*, but in trueth I cannot finde this Epistle of S. *Clement* cited by S. *Ierome:* yet I beleeve vndoubtedly, that S. *Clement* hath written it, seeing S. *Ierome* maketh mention thereof. And with reason saint *Clement* saith, that beyond the Ocean there is an other worlde, yea, many worldes, as in trueth there is; seeing there is so great distance from one newe worlde to an other new world: (I meane from *Peru* and the West Indies, to *China* and the East Indies.) Moreover, *Plinie*, who hath beene so curious a searcher out of strange things, reportes in his naturall Historie, that *Hannon* a Captaine of the *Carthaginians*, sayled through the Ocean, from the Straight of *Gibraltar*, coasting alongst the land, even vnto the confines of *Arabia*, and that hee left this his Navigation in writing. If it bee as *Plinie* writes,

S. Ierom. super ap. 1. ad Ephes.

Plin. li. 2. c. 67.

writes, it followes that *Hannon* sayled as farre as the *Portugals* do at this day, passing twice vnder the Equinoctiall: which is a fearefull thing. And the same *Plinie* reports of *Cornelius Nepos* a very grave Authour, who saith, that the same course hath beene sayled by an other man, called *Eudaxius*, but by contrary wayes: for this *Eudaxius* following the King of *Latyres*, passed by the redde sea into the Ocean; and turning backe, came to the Straight of *Gibraltar*, the which *Cornelius Nepos* affirmes to have happened in his time. And also other grave Authors do write, that a ship of *Carthage* driven by force of winde into the Ocean, came to a Land, which vntill then was vnknowne: and returning to *Carthage*, kindled a great desire in the Citizens to discover and people this land: the which the Senate perceyving, did forbid this navigation by a rigorous decree; fearing that with the desire of new lands, they should leave to love their owne Countrie. By all this wee may gather, that the Ancients had some knowledge of the new world: yet shall you hardly finde in the bookes of ancient Writers, any thing written of our *America*, and all the West Indies: but of the East Indies (I say) there is sufficient testimonie, not only of that on the other side, but also of that on this side, which then was fartheſt off; going thither by a contrary way to that at this day. Is it not easie to find *Moloco* in ancient bookes, which they called the golden *Cherſoneſe*: the Cape of *Comori*; which was called the Promontorie of *Coci*; & that great & famous Iland of *Sumatra*, so well knowne by the ancient name of *Taprobana*. What shall wee say of the two *Ethiopiaes*, the *Brachmanes*, and that great Land of the *Chinaes*? Who doubtes, but there was often mention made thereof in

ancient bookes? But of the West Indies, we find not in *Plinie*, that in this navigation they passed the Ilands of the *Canaries*, which he calleth Fortunate: the principall whereof is sayd to be called *Canarie*, for the multitude of dogs which are in it. But there is scarce any mention in ancient books of the voyages which are made at this day beyond the *Canaries*, by the Gulph which with reason they call great. Yet many hold opinion, that *Sencca* the Tragedian did prophecie of the West Indies, in his Tragedie of *Medea*, which translated, saith thus;

Plin. lib 6. cap. 31.

Senec. in Med. Act. 2. in fin.

An age shall come, ere ages ende,
Blessedly strange and strangely blest,
When our Sea farre and neere ore'prest,
His shoare shall farther yet extend.
Descryed then shall a large Land be,
By this profound Seas navigation,
An other World, an other Nation,
All men shall then discovered see.
Thule *accounted heretofore*
The worldes extreme, the Northerne bound,
Shall be when Southwest parts be found,
A neerer Isle, a neighbour shoare.

This *Seneca* reports in these verses; & we cannot wel deny, but (vnderstanding it litterally) it is very true: for if we reckon the many yeeres he speakes of, beginning from the time of the Tragedian, it is above a thousand and foure hundred yeeres past: and if it were from the time of *Medea*, it is above two thousand yeeres, the which we see plainely now accomplished: seeing the passage of the Ocean so long time hidden, hath beene found out, and that they have discovered a great land and a new world inhabited, more spatious

then

then all the Continent of *Europe* and *Asia*. But therein may a queſtion with reaſon be made, whether *Seneca* ſpake this by divination, or poetically and by chance. And to ſpeake my opinion, I beleeve hee did divine, after the manner of wiſe men and well adviſed; for that in his time they vndertooke newe voyages and navigations by ſea, hee knew well, like a Philoſopher, that there was an other land contrary and oppoſite vnto vs, which they call *Antichthon*. And by this ground he might conceyve, that the induſtrie and courage of man might in the ende paſſe the Ocean, and diſcover new lands and another world, for that in *Senecaes* time, they had knowledge of the Voyage which *Plinie* ſpeaketh of, whereby they paſſed the great Ocean. The which ſeemes to bee the motive of *Senecaes* prophecie, as he giveth vs to vnderſtand by theſe former verſes, after the which having deſcribed the carefull life of the Ancients, free from malice, he followeth thus:

Now is it not as earſt it was,
For whether the Ocean will or nill,
He traverſt is by hardy will:
Which paſtime makes time ſo to paſſe.

And a little after he ſaith thus:

Now every boat dares ſwimme and ſport
On ſurging Seas, fearing no wracke:
Paſſengers ſeeking what they lacke,
So long a voyage thinke but ſhort.
Nothing is nowe more to diſcover,
No place is now left to ſurpriſe,
Townes now that for defence deviſe,
With new fortifications cover.
All in the world turn'd round about,
No thing in place as t'was enured,

Nothing vnſeene, nothing aſſured
This Circle vniverſe throughout.
The Indian, *whom at home heate fries,*
Drinkes of Araxis *waters cold:*
The Perſian *rich in gems and gold,*
Waſh in the Rhine *and* Elbe likewiſe.

Seneca did coniecture this by the great courage of men, as that which ſhall happen laſt, ſaying, It ſhall fall out in the latter age, &c. as hath bin before mentioned.

Of the opinion which Plato *held of the West Indies.* Chap. 12.

IF any one hath treated more particularly of the weſt Indies, the honor belongs to *Plato*, who in his time ſaith thus. *In thoſe dayes, they could not ſayle this Gulph* (meaning the *Atlantike Sea* (which is the Ocean) which meetes at the Straight of *Gibraltar*) *for that the paſſage was ſtopt at the mouth of the pillars of* Hercules, (which is the ſame Straight of *Gibraltar*) *and this Iland was in thoſe dayes ioyned to the foreſaid mouth, and was of that bigneſſe, as it exceeded all* Aſia *and* Affricke *together: and then was there a paſſage to goe from theſe Ilands to others, and from thoſe others Ilandes, they went to the firme Land, the which was neere invironed with the very Sea.* This is reported by *Critias* in *Plato*. And ſuch as beleeve that this narration of *Plato* is a true Hiſtorie, delivered in theſe termes, ſay, that this great *Atlanticke* Iland (the which did exceed both *Affricke* and *Aſia* in greatneſſe) did then comprehend the greateſt part of the Ocean called *Atlantike:* which the *Spaniards* nowe ſayle in: and that thoſe other Ilands, which (he ſayde (

were

were neere vnto this great one; are those, which wee now call the Ilands of *Barlovante*; that is, *Cuba, Hispaniola, S. Iohn de Port ricco, Iamaica,* and other Ilands of that Countrie: and that the maine Land whereof hee maketh mention, is the same wee now call firme Land, that is, *Peru* and *America*; and that Sea, which he sayth is adioyning to the firme Land, is the South sea, the which he calleth the very Sea, for that in comparison of her greatnesse, all other Seas, both *Mediterranean*, yea, and the *Atlantike* Sea, are small in regard thereof. Hereby in trueth they give a cunning and wittie interpretation to these words of *Plato*. But whether this interpretation should be held for true or not, I am resolved to declare in an other place.

That some have held opinion that in places of holy Scripture, whereas they speake of Ophir, is to be vnderstood of our Peru. Chap. 13.

SOme hold opinion, that mention is made of the West Indies in the holy scripture, taking the region of *Peru* for that *Ophir* which so famous *Robert Steevens*, or to say more truely *Francis Vatable*, a man well seene in the Hebrew tong (as I have heard our master report, who was his disciple) saith in his annotations vpon the 9. chapter of the 3. booke of Kings, that the Iland of *Hispaniola* which *Christopher Colombus* found out, was that of *Ophir*, from whence *Solomon* caused to bee brought foure hundred and twentie, or foure hundred and 50. talents of most fine and pure golde, for that the golde of *Cibao* which our men bring from *Hispaniola*, is of the same fashion and qualitie. And there are

In. 3. lib. Reg. cap. 9.

In. appacatu Bibliæ regiæ impiæ leg. ca. 9.

many

many others which affirme that our *Peru* is *Ophir*, deriving one name from another, who beleeve, that
2 *Paralip.9.* 3.*Reg.10.* when as the booke of *Paralipomenon* was written, they called it *Peru*, grounding it vpon that which the holy scripture saith, that they brought from *Ophir* pure gold, precious stones, and wood which was rare and goodly: which things abound in *Peru*, as they say. But in my opinion, it is farre from the truth, that *Peru* should be *Ophir* so famous in the Bible. For although in this *Peru*, there be good store of gold, yet is there not such aboundance, as it may be equalled with the fame of the riches that was in auncient time at the
2. *Para.8.* 4.*Reg.22.* 9.*Reg.9.* East Indies. I finde not that in *Peru* there are such precious stones, or such exquisite woods, as the like have not bend seene at *Ieruſalem*. For although there be exquisite Emeralds, and some hard trees of Aromaticall wood, yet do I not finde any thing of so great commendation as the scripture giueth vnto *Ophir*. Moreover, it seemes not likely that *Solomon* would leave the East Indies (most rich and plentifull) to send his fleetes to this farther land: whether if they had come so often (as it is written,) we had surely found more signes and testimonies thereof. Moreover, the *Etimologie* of the name of *Ophir*, and the change or reduction thereof to *Peru*, seemes to me of small consideration, being most certaine that the name of *Peru* is not very auncient, nor common to all that countrie. It hath beene vsuall in the discoverie of the new world, to give names to lands and portes of the sea, according to the occasions presented at their ariuall: and I beleeve that the name of *Peru*, hath bene so found out, and put in practise: for we find heere that the name hath bene given to all the countrie of *Peru*, by reason of a river so called

led by the inhbitants of the countrie, where the Spaniards arived vpon their first discoverie. Whereby we maintaine that the Indians themselves bee ignorant, and do not vse this name and appellation to signifie their land. It seemeth moreover, the same Authors will say, that *Sepher* spoken of in the scripture, is that which we now call *Andes*, which are most high mountaines in *Peru*. But this resemblance of names and appellations is no sufficient proofe. If that were of force, we might as well say, that *Iectan* is *Iecsan*, mentioned in the holy scripture. Neither may we say, that the names of *Titus* and *Paul*, which the Kings *Inguas* of *Peru* do vse, come from the Romans or Christians, seeing it is too weake an argument, to draw a conclusion of great matters. We see plainely, that it is contrarie to the intention of the holy scriptures, which some have written, that *Tharsis* and *Ophir* were one and the same Province, conferring the 22. chapter of the 4. booke of the Kings, with the 20. chapter of the second booke of *Paralipomenon*, for that in the booke of the Kings, it is said, that *Iosaphat* prepared a fleete of shippes in *Asiongaber* to fetch golde at *Ophir*, and in *Paralipomenon*, it is written, that the same fleete was furnished to go vnto *Tharsis*. Whereby it may be supposed, that in these fore-said bookes, where the scripture speakes of *Tharsis* and *Ophir*, that it meanes one thing. Some one may demaund, what region or Province that *Ophir* was, whether *Solomons* fleete went with the Mariners of *Hyram* King of *Tyre* and *Sidon* to fetch hold. And whether King *Iosaphats* fleete, pretending to go, did suffer shipwracke, and perish in *Asiongaber*, as the holy scripture doth testifie. In this I do willingly agree with the opinion of *Ioseph*, in his books

Iectan filius Heber Gen 10.

Iecsan filius Abrahæ ex Cetura. Gen. 25.

3. Reg. 9.

4. Reg. 22.

of

of Antiquities, where he saith, that it is a Province of
Gen. 10. the East Indies, the which was found by that *Ophir* the sonne of *Iectan*, whereof mention is made in the 10. of Genesis: and that Province did abound with most fine gold. Thereof it comes, they did so much extol the gold of *Ophir* or of *Ophas*, or as some wil say, this word of *Obrise* is the same with *Ophrise*, for finding there seven sortes or kindes of gold (as S. *Ierome* reportes,) that of *Ophir* was held for the most fine, as heere we esteeme the gold of *Valdivia* and *Caramaya*. The chiefest reason which moves me to thinke that *Ophir* is at the East Indies, and not in the West, is, for that *Solomons* fleete could not come hither, without passing the East Indies, all *China*, and a great part of the sea: being vnlikely they would passe over all the world to come thither for gold, that continent especially lying in that sort, as they could not come to the knowledge thereof by any voiage by land. And hereafter we wil shew that the Ancients had never knowledge in the arte of Navigation, without the which they could not runne so farre into the sea. Finally, in these matters (when as there appeares no certaine proofes, but onely light coniectures,) wee are not bound to beleeve but what we shall thinke good.

What Tharsis and Ophir signifie in the holy Scripture.

Chap. 14.

IF every mans coniecture and opinion may be allowed, for my part I hold, that in the holy scripture these words of *Tharsis* and *Ophir*, most commonly do not signifie any certaine place: but it is a word and signification

fication generall to the Hebrewes, as in our vulgar tongue, this word of *Indies*, is generall vnto vs in our vsuall maner of speech: for wee meane by the *Indies*, those rich countries which are farre off, and strange vnto vs. So we Spaniards do indifferently call *Indies*, the countries of *Peru*, *Mexico*, *China*, *Malaca*, and *Brefil*: and from what parts soever of these any letters come, wee say they bee from the *Indies*, which countries be farre distant and different one from another. Yet we cannot denie, but that name of *Indies*, is properly to be vnderstood of the East Indies. And for that in olde time they did speake of these *Indies*, as of a countrie farre off, so likewise, in the discoverie of other remote lands, they have given them the names of Indies, being distant from the rest, and held as the end of the world. Even so, in my iudgement, *Tharsis* in the holy scripture, doth not signifie any certaine and determined place, but onely regions a farre off, and (according to the vulgar opinion,) very rich and strange: for that which *Iosephus* and some others would affirme, that *Tharsis* is *Tarso*, according to the meaning of the scripture, in my opinion hath bene well refuted by S. *Ierome*: not onely for that these wordes are written with divers letters, the one with an aspiration, the other without: but also, that many things are written of *Tharsis*, which cannot agree with *Tarso*, a Citie in *Cilicia*. It is true, that in some places of the scripture, *Tharsis* is said to be in *Cilicia*, the which you shall find in the booke of *Iudith*, speaking of *Holopherne*s, who having passed the limits of *Assyria*, he came to the great mountaines of *Ange*, (which perchance is *Taurus*,) which hilles be on the left hand of *Cilicia*, and that he entred into all the Castells, where he assembled all

Ierom ad Marcel. in. 3. somo.

Iudith. 2.

Lege Pline. lib. 5. cap. 27.

all his forces, having destroyed that famous Citie of *Melothi*, he ruined all the children of *Tharsis* and of *Israell*, which were ioyning vnto the desart, and those which were in the South, towards the land of *Cellon*, and from thence passed *Euphrates*: but as I have saide, that which is so written of *Tharsis*, cannot be applied to the Citie of *Tharso*. *Theodoret* and some others, following the interpretation of the 70. in some places they set *Tharsis* in *Affrike*, saying, it was the same Citie which was aunciently called *Carthage*, and is now the kingdome of *Thunis*: and they say, that *Ionas* went to go thether, when as the scripture reports, that he fled from the Lord into *Tharsis*. Others pretend, that *Tharsis*, is a certaine countrie of the Indies: whereunto it seemes that S. *Ierome* is inclined. I will not now decide these opinions: but I holde that in this case, the scripture doth not alwaies signifie one region or certaine part of the world. It is true, that the wise men or Kings that came to worshippe Christ, were of the East: and the scripture saith, they were of *Saba*, *Epha*, and *Madiem*. And some learned men holde that they were of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, and *Persia*: and yet the Psalmist and the Church sings of them: *The Kings of Tharsis shall bring presents*. Wee agree then with S. *Ierome*: that *Tharsis*, is a word that hath many and divers significations in the scripture. Somtimes it signifies the *Crisolite*, or *Iacinth* stone, sometimes a certaine region of the Indies, sometimes the sea which is of the colour of a Iacinth by the reverberation of the sunne. But the same Doctor doth with reason deny that *Tharsis* is any region of the Indies whether *Ionas* would fly, seeing that parting from *Ioppa*, it had beene impossible to saile vnto the Indies by that sea, for that *Ioppa* (which at this

Theodor in 1. Ioan.

Assemani ibid and in alphabeto aparatus.

Ier. ad Marcel.

Psal. 60 Isaie. 66.

day

day wee call *Iaffe*,) is no port of the red Sea, ioyning to the East Indian Sea, but of the Mediterranean Sea, which hath no iſſue into the Indian. Whereby it doeth plainely appeare, that the voyage which *Solomons* Fleet made, parting from *Aſiongaber* (whereas the ſhippes of king *Ioſaphat* were loſt) went by the redde Sea to *Tharſis* and *Ophir*, the which is directly teſtified in the Scripture. The which voyage was very different from that which *Ionas* pretended to *Tharſis:* ſeeing that *Aſiongaber* is the port of a Cittie of *Idumea*, ſeated vpon the Straight, whereas the red ſea ioynes with the great Ocean. From this *Ophir* they brought to *Salomon* gold, ſilver, Elephants teeth, Monkies, Indian Cocks, and their voyage was of three yeeres: all which without doubt ought to bee vnderſtood of the East Indies, which is fruitfull and aboundant of all theſe thinges, as *Plinie* teſtifieth, and our owne experience doth witnes. From our *Peru*, doubtleſſe they could not bring any Elephants teeth, thoſe beaſtes beeing vnknowne there; but they might well bring gold, ſilver, and pleaſant monkies. Finally, the holy Scripture, in my opinion, doth commonly vnderſtand by this word of *Tharſis*, eyther the great Sea, or farre and ſtrange Regions. So as he ſuppoſeth that the prophecies which ſpeake of *Tharſis* (ſeeing the ſpirit of Prophecie may comprehend all things) may often be applied to things of our new world.

Of the Prophecie of Abdias, *which some doe interpret to be the Indies.* CHAP. 15.

MAny say and affirme, that in the holy Scripture it was foretold long before, that this new worlde should be converted to Iesus Christ by the Spanish nation, and to this purpose they expound the text of the Prophecie of *Abdias*, which sayth thus: *At the transmigration of this Ost, the children of Israel shall possesse all the the dwellings of the Cananites vnto* Sarepte, *and the transmigration of* Ierusalem, *which is at* Bosphorus, *shall possesse the Cities of the South, and they that shall save, shall come vp to the hill of* Sion *to iudge the mount of* Esau, *and the kingdome shall bee the Lordes.* This hath beene set downe acording to the letter, but the hebrew Authors reade it thus: *And the transmigration of this Ost of the children, which be the Cananites, vnto Zarphat* (which is *France*) *and the transmigration of Ierusalem, which is in Sapharad* (vnderstood for *Spaine*) *shall possesse for inheritance the Cities of the South, and those which procure salvation, shall mount vp to the hill of Sion, to iudge the mount of* Esau, *and the kingdome shall be the Lords.* Yet some of them doe not produce any sufficient testimony of the Ancients, nor pertinent reasons to proove that *Sapharad* (which S. *Ierome* doth interpret the *Bosphor* or Straight, and the 70. Interpreters *Euphrates*,) should signifie *Spaine*, but their onely opinion. Others alleage the *Caldean* Paraphrase, which is of this opinion, and the ancient *Rabbins*, which expound it on this sort; as also that *Zarphat* is *France*, (which the vulgar and the 70. Interpreters call *Sarepte*.) But leaving this dispute, which belongs to men of more leisure; what necessitie

neceſſitie is there to beleeve, that the citties of the South or of *Mageb* (as the 70. write) be thoſe of this new world? Moreover, what need is there to beleeve and to take the Spaniſh Nation for the tranſmigration from *Ieruſalem* to *Sapharad*, vnleſſe we will vnderſtand *Ieruſalem* ſpiritually, and thereby the Church? So as by the tranſmigration from *Ieruſalem* to *Sapharad*, the holy ſpirite ſhewes vs the children of the holy Church, which inhabit the ends of the earth, & the banks of the Sea, for ſo is *Sapharad* vnderſtood in the *Syrian* tongue, and doth well agree with our *Spaine*, which according to the Ancients is the ende of the earth, beeing in a manner all invironed with Sea. And by the Citties of the South, we may well vnderſtand theſe Indies, ſeeing the greateſt parte of this newe worlde is ſeated in the South; and the better part looks to the Pole Antartike. That which followeth is eaſie to interpret, *viz. They which procure Salvation, ſhall aſcend the hill of Sion, to iudge the mount of* Eſau. For wee may ſay, they vnite themſelves to the doctrine and ſtrength of the holy Church, which ſeeke to breake and diſperſe the prophane errors of the Gentiles, for that may be interpreted to iudge the mount of *Eſau*: whereby it followes, that in thoſe daies the Realme ſhall neyther bee for the Spaniards, nor for them of *Europe*, but for Ieſus Chriſt our Saviour. Whoſoever ſhall expound the Prophecie of *Abdias* in this ſort, ought not to be blamed; being moſt certaine, that the holy Spirit did vnderſtand all ſecrets long before. And it ſeemes there is great reaſon to beleeve, that mention is made in the holy Scripture of a matter of ſuch importance, as the diſcoverie of the Indies, of the new world, and their converſion to the faith. *Iſay* ſaith in theſe wordes; *Oh the*

Isay. 18. iuxta 70. Interp.

wings of ships which come from the other part of Ethiopia. Many learned Authors hold, that al this Chapter is vnderstood of the Indies: and that same Prophet in an other place saith; *Those which shall escape out of Israel, shal goe farre off to* Tharsis *and to remote Ilands, where they shal convert many Nations vnto the Lorde.* Amongest the which, hee names *Greece, Italie, Affricke* with many others: the which without doubt may well bee applied vnto the conversion of the Indies. Being most certaine that the Gospel shall be preached generally throughout the world, as our Saviour hath promised, and then the ende of the world shall come. It followes then, and so we ought to vnderstand it, that there be many Nations vpon the face of the earth, to whom Iesus Christ hath not yet been preached. Whereby we may gather, that there remained a great part of the world vnknowne to the Ancients, and that yet at this day, there is a good part to discover.

Isay. 66.

By what meanes the first men might come to the Indies, the which was not willingly, nor of set purpose.

Chap. 16.

NOw it is time to make answer to such as say there are no Antipodes, and that this region where we live, cannot bee inhabited. The huge greatnes of the *Ocean* did so amaze S. *Augustine*, as he could not conceive how mankinde could passe to this new-found world. But seeing on the one side wee know for certaine, that many yeeres agoe there were men inhabiting in these parts, so likewise we cannot deny but the scripture doth teach vs cleerely, that all men are come

from

from the first man: without doubt we shall be forced to beleeve and confesse, that men have passed hither from *Europe, Asia or Affricke*, yet must wee discover by what meanes they could passe. It is not likely that there was an other *Noes* Arke, by the which men might be transported into the Indies, and much lesse any Angell to carie the first man to this new world, holding him by the haire of the head, like to the Prophet *Abacuc*: for we intreat not of the mightie power of God, but only of that which is conformable vnto reason, & the order and disposition of humane things. Wherefore these two things ought to be held for wonderfull and worthie of admiration, yea, to bee numbred among the secrets of God. The one is; how man could passe so huge a passage by Sea and Lande. The other is; that there beeing such multitudes of people, they have yet beene vnknowne so many ages. For this cause I demaund, by what resolution, force or industrie, the Indians could passe so large a Sea, and who might be the Inventer of so strange a passage? Truely I have often times considered thereof with my selfe, (as many others have done) but never could I finde any thing to satisfie mee. Yet will I say what I have conceived, and what comes presently into my minde, seeing that testimonies faile mee, whom I might follow, suffering my selfe to be guided by the rule of reason, (although it be very subtill.) It is most certaine, that the first men came to this land of *Peru* by one of these two meanes, either by land or by sea. If they came by sea, it was casually, and by chance, or willingly, & of purpose. I vnderstand by chance, being cast by force of some storme or tempest, as it happens in tempestuous times. I meane done of purpose, when they prepared fleetes to discover new

lands. Besides these two meanes, I see it is not possible to find out any other, if wee will follow the course of humane things, and not devise fabulous and poeticall fictions; for no man may thinke to finde another Eagle as that of *Ganimede*, or a flying Horse, like vnto *Perseus*, that should carie the Indians through the aire; or that peradventure these first men haue vsed fishes, as Mirmaides, or the fish called a Nicholas, to passe them thither. But laying aside these imaginations and fopperies, let vs examine these two meanes, the which will bee both pleasant and profitable. First in my iudgement, it were not farre from reason to say, that the first and auncient people of these Indies, have discovered and peopled after the same sort as wee do at this day, that is, by the Arte of Navigation and aide of Pilots, the which guide themselves by the heigth and knowledge of the heavens, and by their industrie in handling and changing of their sailes according to the season. Why might not this well be? Must we beleeve, that we alone, and in this our age, have onely the Arte and knowledge to saile through the Ocean? Wee see even now, that they cut through the Ocean to discover new lands, as not long since *Alvaro Mendana* and his companions did, who parting from the Port of *Lima*, came alongst the West, to discover the land which lieth Eastward from *Peru*; and at the end of three moneths, they discovered the Ilands, which they call the Ilands of *Salomon*, which are many and very great, and by all likelehood, they lie adioyning to new *Guinnie*, or else are very neere to some other firme land. And even now by commandement from the King and his Counsell, they are resolved to prepare a new fleete for these Ilands. Seeing it is thus, why may we not suppose, that the Ancients had the

courage

courage and resolution to travell by sea, with the same intent to discover the land which they call *Antichthon* opposite to theirs, and that (according to the discourse of their Philosophie) it should be with an intent, not to rest vntill they came in view of the landes they sought? Surely there is no repugnancie or contrarietie in that which wee see happen at this day, and that of former ages, seeing that the holy scripture doth witnes, that *Solomon* tooke Masters and Pilots from *Tyre* and *Sidon*, men very expert in Navigation, who by their industry performed this voiage in three yeeres. To what end thinke you doth it note the Arte of Mariners, and their knowledge, with their long voiage of three yeeres, but to give vs to vnderstand, that *Solomons* fleete sailed through the great Ocean? Many are of this opinion, which thinke that S. *Augustine* had small reason to wonder at the greatnes of the Ocean, who might well coniecture, that it was not so difficult to saile through, considering what hath been spoken of *Solomons* Navigation. But to say the truth, I am of a contrary opinion, neither can I perswade my selfe, that the first Indians came to this new world, of purpose, by a determined voiage; neither will I yeeld, that the Ancients had knowledge in the Art of Navigation, whereby men at this day passe the Ocean, from one part to another, where they please, the which they performe with an incredible swiftnes and resolution; neither do I finde in all Antiquities, any markes or testimonies of so notable a thing, and of so great importance. Besides, I finde not, that in ancient bookes there is any mention made of the vse of the Adamant or Loadstone, nor of the Compasse to saile by: yea, I beleeve they had no knowledge thereof. And if we take away

2. Para. 9.
3. Reg 10.

the knowledge of the compasse to saile by, we shall easily iudge how impossible it was for them to passe the great Ocean. Such as haue any knowledge of the sea, vnderstand me well: for that it is as easie to beleeve that a Mariner in full sea can direct his course where hee please, without a compasse, as for a blinde man to shew with his finger any thing, be it neere or farre off. And it is strange, that the Ancients have bene so long ignorant of this excellent propertie of the Adamant stone: for *Plinie*, who was so curious in naturall causes, writing of this Adamant stone, speakes nothing of that vertue and propertie it hath, alwaies to turne the iron which it toucheth towards the North: the which is the most admirable vertue it hath. *Aristotle, Theophrastes, Dioscorides, Lucretius,* nor any other Writers, or naturall Philosophers, that I have seene, make any mention thereof, although they treate of the Adamant stone. Saint *Augustine* writing many and sundry properties and excellencies of the Adamant stone, in his bookes of the Citie of God, speakes nothing thereof. And without doubt, all the excellencies spoken of this stone, are nothing in respect of this strange propertie, looking alwaies towards the North, which is a great wonder of nature. There is yet another argument, for *Plinie* treating of the first inventers of Navigation, and naming all the instruments, yet he speakes nothing of the compasse to saile by, nor of the Adamant stone. I say onely, that the art to know the starres, was invented by the *Phæniciens*. And there is no doubt, but whatsoever the Ancients knew of the Art of Navigation, was onely in regard of the starres, and obserue the Shoares, Capes, and differences of landes. And if they had once lost the sight of land, they knew not

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 6 and lib. 34. cap. 1. 14. and lib. 7. cap. 4.

Diosc. lib. 5. cap. 10. Lucret. lib. 6.

Aug. de Cuit. Dei cap. 4. vbi multa de magnete.

Plin. lib. 7. c. 16

not which way to direct their course, but by the Stars Sunne, and Moone: and that failing (as it doth often, in a darke and cloudie season,) they did governe themselves by the qualitie of the winds, and by coniecture of the waies which they had passed. Finally they went as they were guided by their owne motions. As at the *Indies*, the Indians saile a long way by sea, guided only by their owne industrie & naturall instinct. And it serues greatly to purpose, that which *Plinie* writes of the Ilanders of *Taprobana*, (which at this day, we call *Sumatra*,) speaking in this sort, when as he treates of the art and industrie they vse in sailing. *Those of Taprobana see not the North to saile by: which defect they supply with certaine small birdes they carrie with them, the which they often let flie, and as those birdes by a naturall instinct flie alwaies towards the land, so the Mariners direct their course after them.* Who doubtes then, if they had had any knowledge of the compasse, they would not have vsed these little birdes for their guides, to discover the Land. To conclude, this sufficeth to shew that the Ancients had no knowledge of the secrets of the Loadstone: seeing that for so notable a thing, there is no proper word in Latine, Greeke, or Hebrew: for a thing of such importance, could not have wanted a name in these tongues, if they had knowne it. Wherevpon the Pilots at this day to direct him his course that holds the helme, sit aloft in the poope of the Shippe, the better to obserue the compasse: where as in olde time, they sat in the prow of the Shippe, to marke the differences of lands and seas, from which place, they commaunded the Helme: as they vse at this day, at the entrie or going out of any Port or haven: and therefore the Greekes

called Pilots *Proritaes*, for that they remained ſtill in the prow.

Of the properties and admirable vertue of the Adamant ſtone for Navigation, whereof the Ancients had no knowledge. CHAP. 17.

BY that which hath been formerly ſpoken, it appeares, that the Navigation to the Indies, is as certaine, and as ſhort, as wee are aſſured of the Adamant ſtone. And at this day, we ſee many that have ſailed from *Lisbone*, to *Goa*, from *Siville* to *Mexico*, and through all the South ſea, even vnto *China*, and to the ſtraight of *Maggellan*; and that as certainely, & as eaſily, as the Husbandman goeth from his Farme vnto the Citie. We have alſo ſeene men that have made fifteene, yea, eighteene voiages to the Indies, and we have heard ſpeake of ſome Ancients, which have made above twentie vioges, paſſing, and repaſſing the great Ocean, in the which they have not ſeene any ſignes of ſuch as have traveled, nor met with any paſſengers to demand the way of them. For as the Wiſe man ſaith, a ſhip cutteth the waves of the water, leaving no way where it paſſeth, nor any path in the flouds. But by the vertue and propertie of the Adamant ſtone, it makes as it were a beaten path in this Ocean. The high Creator of all things, having imparted this vertue vnto it, that by the touch of iron, it hath alwaies his motion and aſpect towards the North, in what part of the world ſoever you be. Some ſearch what ſhould be the cauſe of this wonderfull propertie, and imagine I know not what ſimpathie. But for my part, I take more pleaſure and content in the

Sap. 5.

the considerations of these wonders, to praise the power and greatnes of the Almightie, and reioyce in the contemplation of his admirable workes, and to say with *Solomon*, speaking vpon this subiect, *O father whose providence governes and maintaines a peece of wood, giving it an assured way vpon the sea, and in the midst of the swelling waves, to shew, that in the like sort, thou canst save and deliver man from all perill and shipwracke; yea, although he were in the midst of the sea without shippe. But for that thy works are full of wisedome, men hazard their lives in a small peece of wood, and passe through the sea in a shippe, and are saved.* Sap. 14. And vpon the same subiect the Psalmist saieth, *They which go to the sea in shippes, and trafficke by the great waters, have seene the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the depth of the sea.* Psal. 106. And in truth, it is not one of the least wonders of God, that the force of so small a stone should command the sea, and force the infinite depth thereof to obey him, and follow his commandement. But for that it is an vsuall thing, and seemes easie, men do not admire it, nor take any great regard thereof: and for that his bountie is such, the ignorant make lesse account thereof. Notwithstanding, such as will duly consider it, are led by reason, to blesse the wisedome of God, and to give him thankes for so great a benefite. Being then decreed in heaven, that these nations of the *Indies*, which have lyen so long hidden, should bee knowne and discovered, and that this rowt should be frequented, to the end so many soules should come to the knowledge of Iesus Christ, and winne eternall life. There was an assured guide provided for such as travell that way, that is, the Compasse to saile by, and the vertue of the Adamant stone. Wee doe not certainely know at what time this Art of sailing was brought to

light.

light. But for my part, I hold for certaine, that it is not verie ancient, for beſides the reaſons alleadged in the former chapter, I have not read in any ancient Author, treating of dialles, any mention made of the Adamant. And yet vndoubtedly, the principall and moſt neceſſarie inſtument for ſunne dialls, which we vſe at this day, is the needle of iron touched with the Adamant ſtone. Some approved Authors write in the Hiſtorie of the Eaſt *Indies*, that the firſt which began to diſcover this ſecret vpon the ſea, was *Vaſcor de Gama*, who in the heigth of *Moſambique*, met with certaine Mariners Moores, which vſed this compaſſe or needle to ſaile by, and by the meanes thereof, he ſailed through thoſe ſeas: yet they write not from whom they learned this Art. And ſome amongſt them are of our opinion, that the Ancients were ignorant of this ſecret. Moreover, I will ſhew a greater wonder of the needle to ſaile by, which we might hold incredible, if we had not proofe thereof by vndoubted experience. The iron touched or rubbed with that part of the Adamant ſtone which is towards the South, hath this vertue, to turne alwaies and in all places to the contrarie, which is the North. Yet doth it not in all places directly regard it, but hath certaine points and climats, where it directly regardes the North, and their ſtaies: but changing this climate, it inclines a little, either to the Eaſt, or to the Weſt, the farther it goes from this climat, which the Mariners cal North-eaſt, or North-weſt, which is to ſay, coaſting or inclining to the Eaſt, or to the Weſt. And it is a thing of ſuch conſequence, to vnderſtand this declining or coaſting of the needle, that if they obſerve it not adviſedly (although it bee ſmall,) they ſhall ſtray wonderfully in their courſe, and arrive in another

Lib. 1. de Ital. illuſtr. regni. 19
Plin. lib. 2. cap. 71. & lib. 7. ca. vlt.
Ozor. de reb. geſt. Eman. li. 1

another place then where they pretended to go. Once a very expert Pilot of *Portugal* told mee, that there were foure poyntes in all the world, whereas the needle looked directly towards the North, the which hee named, but I do not well remember them. One is in the height of the Iland of *Corvo* at the *Terceres* or *Açores*, which is very well knowne to all men: but passing to a greater altitude, it declines to the West: and contrariwise, drawing to a lesse altitude, towardes the Equinoctiall, it leanes to the East. The masters of this Arte can well tell how farre and how much. For my part, I would gladly know, of such as presume to knowe all thinges, what should bee the cause of this effect, and for what reason, a little yron touched with the Adamant stone, receyves such vertue, as to looke alwayes towards the North, and with such dexteritie, that it vnderstandeth the sundry Clymates and scituations of the world, and which way it should turne and incline, as well as any Philosopher or Cosmographer whatsoever. And seeing wee cannot well discover the causes and reasons of these thinges which wee see dayly, without doubt they were very hard to beleeve, if they were not apparent. Herein we discover our follie & vanitie, to make our selves iudges & to subiect divine & high things to our reason & discourse. It is therefore better, as S. *Gregorie* the divine sayth, to subiect reason vnto faith, for that in her owne mansion she hath no governement. But this shall suffice. Let vs returne to our purpose, and conclude, that the vse of the needle to sayle by, was vnknowne to the Ancients: whereby we may resolve, that it was impossible to make a determined voyage, parting from the other world, to come to this by the Ocean.

Wherein

Wherein an answere is made to them that say, that in times passed they have sayled through the Ocean, as at this day. CHAP. 18.

THat which is alleaged to the contrary of that which hath beene spoken, that *Salomons* Fleet sayled in three yeeres, is no sufficient proofe, seeing the holy Scripture doth not directly affirme, that this voyage continued three yeeres, but that it was made once in three yeeres. And although wee graunt, that the voyage lasted three yeeres, it might bee, as it is likely, that this Fleet sayling towards the East *Indies*, was stayed in their course, by the diversitie of Ports and Regions, which they discovered: as at this day, in all the South Sea, they sayle from *Chile* to newe *Spaine*, the which voyage, although it bee more certaine, yet is it longer, by reason of the turnings they are forced to make vpon the Coast, and they stay in divers Portes. And in trueth, I doe not finde in ancient bookes, that they have lanched farre into the Ocean, neyther can I beleeve, that this their sayling was otherwise then they vse at this day in the Mediterranean Sea: which makes learned men to conjecture, that in old time they did not sayle without Owers, for that they went alwayes coasting along the shoare: and it seemes the holy Scripture doth testifie as much, speaking of that famous voyage of the Prophet *Ionas*: where it sayes, that the Marriners being forced by the weather, rowed to land.

That

That we may coniecture, how the first Inhabitants of the Indies *came thither by force of weather, and not willingly.* CHAP. 19.

HAving shewed, that there is no reason to beleeve, that the first Inhabitants of the *Indies* came thither purposely; it followeth then, that if they came by Sea, it was by chance, or by force of weather, the which is not incredible, notwithstanding the vastnesse of the Ocean, seeing the like hath happened in our time, when as that Marriner, (whose name we are yet ignorant of) (to the end so great a worke, and of such importance, should not be attributed to any other Author then to God) having (through tempest discovered this new world,) left for payment of his lodging, where he had received it, to *Christopher Columbus*, the knowledge of so great a secret. Even so it might chance, that some of *Europe* or *Affricke* in times past, have bin driven by foule weather, and cast vpon vnknowne lands beyond the Ocean. Who knoweth not, that most, or the greatest part of the Regions in this newe world, were discovered by this meanes, the which we must rather attribute to the violence of the weather, then to the spirit and industrie of those which have discovered. And to the end we may know, that it is not in our time onely, that they have vndertaken such voiages, through the greatnesse of our shippes, and the valour and courage of our men: we may reade in *Plinie*, that many of the Ancients have made the like voyages, he writes in this manner: *It is reported that* Caius Cæsar, *sonne to* Augustus Cæsar, *having charge vpon the Arabian Sea, did there see and finde certaine pieces and remainders* *Plin. li. 2. c. 69.*

mainders of Spaniſh ſhippes that had periſhed. And after he ſaith: Nepos *reportes of the Northerne circuite, that they brought to* Quintus Metellus Cæler *companion in the Conſulſhip to* Caius Affranius (*the ſame* Metellus *being then Proconſull in* Gaule) *certaine Indians which had beene preſented by the King of* Sueden: *the which Indians, ſailing from* India, *for their trafficke, were caſt vpon* Germanie *by force of tempeſt.* Doubtles, if *Plinie* ſpeaketh truth, the Portugales in theſe daies, ſaile no further then they did in thoſe two ſhipwrackes, the one from *Spaine* to the red Sea, the other from the Eaſt *Indies* to *Germanie.* The ſame Author writes in another place, that a ſervant of *Annius Plocanius*, who farmed the cuſtomes of the red Sea, ſailing the courſe of *Arabia*, there came ſo furious a Northerne wind, that in fifteene daies he paſſed *Caramania*, and diſcovered *Hippares*, a port in *Taprobane*, which at this day we call *Sumatra*. And they report of a ſhippe of *Carthage*, which was driven out of the Mediterranean Sea, by a Northerne wind, to the view of this new world. The which is no ſtrange thing to ſuch as have any knowledge of the ſea, to know that ſometimes a ſtorme continues long & furious, without any intermiſſion. I my ſelfe going to the *Indies*, parting from the *Canaries*, have in fifteene daies, diſcovered the firſt land peopled by the Spaniards. And without doubt, this voiage had been ſhorter, if the Mariners had ſet vp all their ſailes to the Northerne winds that blew. It ſeemes therefore likely to me, that in times paſt, men came to the *Indies* againſt their wills, driven by the furie of the winds. In *Peru*, they make great mention of certaine Giants, which have been in thoſe parts, whoſe bones are yet ſeene at *Manta*, and *Port Vieil*, of a huge greatnes, and by their proportion, they

Plin. lib. 6. c. 22

they ſhould be thrice as big as the Indians. At this day they report that the Giants came by ſea, to make warre with thoſe of the Countrie, and that they made goodly buildings, whereof at this day they ſhew a well, built with ſtones of great price. They ſay moreover, that theſe men committing abhominable ſinnes, eſpecially againſt nature, were conſumed by fire from heaven. In like ſort the Indians report of *Ycа*, and *Arica*, that in old time they were wont to ſaile farre to the Ilands of the Weſt, and made their voiages in Seales skinnes blowne vp. So as there wants no witneſſes, to prove that they ſailed in the South ſea, before the Spaniards came thither. Thus we may well conieƈture, that the new world began to be inhabited, by men that have been caſt vpon that coaſt by the violence of the Northerne winds, as wee have ſeene in our age. So it is, (being a matter verie conſiderable) that the workes of nature of greateſt importance, for the moſt part, have been found out accidentally, and not by the induſtrie and diligence of man. The greateſt part of phiſicall hearbes, of Stones, Plants, Mettalls, Perle, gold, Adamant, Amber, Diamont, and the moſt part of ſuch like things, with their properties and vertues, have rather come to the knowledge of man by chance, then by art or induſtrie, to the end wee may know, that the glorie & praiſe of ſuch wonders, ſhould be atributed to the providence of the Creator, and not to mans vnderſtanding: for that which we thinke to happen accidently, proceedes alwaies from the ordinance and diſpoſition of God, who does all things with reaſon.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding all that hath bene saide, it is more likely that the first inhabitants of the Indies, *came by land.*

CHAP. 20.

I Conclude then, that it is likely the first that came to the *Indies*, was by shipwracke and tempest of wether, but heerevpon groweth a difficultie, which troubleth me much. For, suppose wee grant that the first men came from farre Countries, and that the nations which we now see, are issued from them, and multiplied; yet can I not coniecture, by what meanes brute beastes (whereof there is great aboundance) could come there, not being likely, they should have bin imbarked and carried by sea. The reason that inforceth vs to yeeld, that the first men of the *Indies* are come from Europe, or *Asia*, is the testimonie of the holy scripture, which teacheth vs plainely, that all men came from *Adam*. We can therefore give no other beginning to those at the *Indies*, seeing the holy scripture saieth, that all beasts and creatures of the earth perished, but such as were reserved in the Arke of *Noe*, for the multiplication and maintenance of their kinde: so as we must necessarily referre the multiplication of all beastes to those which came out of the Arke of *Noe*, on the mountaines of *Ararat*, where it staied. And by this meanes, we must seeke out both for men and beastes, the way whereby they might passe from the old world to this new. Saint *Augustine*, treating vpon this question, by what reason you shall finde in some Ilandes, Wolves, Tigers, and other ravenous beastes, which breede no profit to men, seeing there is no doubt, but Elephants, Horses, Oxen, Dogges, and other beastes which

Gen.7.

Aug.lib.6.de Ciuit.cap.7.

which serve man to vse, have been expresly carried in shippes, as we see at this day brought from the East into *Europe*, and transported from *Europe*, to *Peru*, although the voiages be verie long. And by what meanes these beastes which yeeld no profit, but are very hurtefull (as Wolves, and others of that wilde nature) should passe to the *Indies*, supposing, as it is certaine, that the deluge drowned all the earth. In which Treatie, this learned & holy man laboures to free himselfe of these difficulties, saying that they might swim vnto these Ilands, or that some have carried them thither for their delight in hunting: or that, by the will of God, they had been newly created of the earth, after the same maner of the first creation, when God said, *Let the earth bring forth everie living thing according to his kinde, Cattle, and creeping Wormes, and the beastes of the field, every one in his kinde.* Gen. 1. But if we shall apply this solution to our purpose, the matter will remaine more doubtfull: for beginning at the last point, it is not likely, according to the order of Nature, nor conformable to the order of government established by God, that perfect creatures, as Lions, Tigers, and Wolves, should be engendered of the earth, as we see that Rattes, Frogges, Bees, and other imperfect creatures, are commonly engendered. Moreover, to what purpose is that which the scripture saieth, and doth so often repeate, *Thou shalt take of all the beastes and birdes of the aire, seven, and seven, male and female, to maintaine generation vpon earth*; Gen. 7. if such beasts after the deluge, should be created againe after a new kinde of creation, without coniunction of male and female? And heerevpon might grow another question: Seeing such creatures are breeding on the earth (according to this opinion) wherefore are they not likewise in

all other partes of the maine Land, and in many Ilandes, seeing wee must not regarde the naturall order of generation, but the bountie of the Creator. On the other part, I will not hold it for a thing incredible, that they have carried some of these beastes for the pleasure of hunting: for that we often see; Princes and great men keepe and nourish in their cages, (onely for their pleasure and greatnesse) both Lyons, Beares, and other savage beastes, especially when they are brought from farre Countries: but to speake that of Woolves, Foxes and other beasts which yeeld no profite, and have nothing rare and excellent in them, but to hurt the cattell; and to say also that they have carried them by sea for hunting, truely it is a thing that hath no sense. Who can imagine, that in so long a voyage, men would take the paynes to carrie Foxes to *Peru*, especially of that kind which they call *Anas*, which is the filthiest that I have seene? Who woould likewise say, that the have carried Tygers and Lyons? Truely it were a thing worthy the laughing at, to thinke so. It was sufficient, (yea, very much) for men, driven against their willes by tempest, in so long and vnknowne a voyage, to escape the danger of the Sea with theyr owne lives, without busying themselves to carrie Woolves and Foxes, and to nourish them at Sea. If these beasts then came by Sea, wee must beleeve it was by swimming, which may happen in some Ilands not farre distant from others, or fom the mayne Land, the which wee cannot denie, seeing the experience wee have, and that wee see these beasts, beeing prest to swimme day and night without wearinesse, and so to escape. But this is to be vnderstood in smal Straights and passages: for in our Ocean, they would mocke at such swimmers,

mers, whenas birds faile in their flight, yea, those of the greatest wing, vpon the passage of so great a Gulph. And although we finde small birdes, which flie above a hundred leagues, as we have often seene in our travel, yet it is a matter impossible, at the least very difficult, for birdes to passe all the Ocean. All this beeing true which wee have spoken, what way shall wee make for beastes and birdes to goe to the *Indies*? and how can I say, they passed from one worlde to an other? I conjecture then, by the discourse I have made, that the new world, which we call *Indies*, is not altogether severed and disioyned from the other world: and to speake my opinion, I have long beleeved, that the one and the other world are ioyned and continued one with an other in some part, or at the least, are very neere. And yet to this day, there is no certaine knowledge of the contrary. For towards the Articke or Northerne Pole, all the longitude of the earth is not discovered, and many hold, that above *Florida*, the Land runnes out very large towards the North, and as they say, ioynes with the *Scithike* or *Germaine* Sea. Others affirme, that a Ship sayling in that Sea, reported to have seene the coast of *Bacalaos*, which stretcheth almost to the confines of *Europe*. Moreover, no man knowes how farre the land runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendoça* in the South sea, but that they affirme it is a great Continent, which runnes an infinite length: and returning to the Southerne Pole, no man knowes the lands on the other part of the Straight of *Magellan*. A ship belonging to the Bishoppe of *Plaisance*, which passed the Straight, reports to have sayled alwayes within sight of Land: the like *Hernando Lamer* a Pilot doth affirme, who (forced by foule weather) passed two or three de-

Spanishe fables.

Northe.

Hernando Lamer 1730

grees above the sayd Straight. So as there is no reason or experience that doth contradict my conceit and opinion; which is, that the whole earth is vnited & ioyned in some part, or at the least, the one approcheth neere vnto the other. If this be true, (as in effect there is some likelyhood,) the answere is easie to the doubt we have propounded, how the first Inhabitants could passe to the *Indies*: For that wee must beleeve they could not so conveniently come thither by Sea, as travelling by Land, which might be done without consideration, in changing by little and little their lands and habitations. Some peopling the lands they found, and others seeking for newe; in time they came to inhabite and people the *Indies*, with so many nations, people, and tongues as we see.

By what meanes tame Beasts passed to the Indies.

Chap. 21.

THe signes and arguments, which offer themselves to such as are curious to examine the *Indians* maners and fashions, helpe much to maintayne the foresayd opinion: for that you shall not finde any inhabiting the Ilands that are farre from the maine Land, or from other Ilands, as the *Bermudes*, the reason whereof is, for that the Ancients did never sayle but alongst the coast, and in view of land: whereupon it is reported, that they have found no great Ships in any part of the *Indies*, capable to passe such Gulphs, but onely *Balsaes*, *Barkes* and *Canoes*, which are all lesse then our long boates, the which the *Indians* doe onely vse, with the which they could not runne through so great a Passage,

ſage, without apparant danger of ſhip-wracke: and although their ſhippes had beene ſufficient, yet had they no knowledge of the Aſtrolabe or Compaſſe. If then they had beene but eight or tenne dayes at Sea without ſight of land, they muſt of neceſſitie looſe themſelves, having no knowledge where they were: wee know many Ilandes well peopled with *Indians*, and their vſuall navigations, the which was ſuch, as they may well performe in Canoes and boats, without any Compaſſe to ſayle by. Whenas the *Indians* of *Peru*, which remayne at *Tombes*, did ſee our firſt Spaniſh ſhippes ſayling to *Peru*, and viewed the greatneſſe of their ſailes, being ſpread, and of the bodies of the ſhips, they ſtoode greatly amazed, not beeing able to perſwade themſelves that they were ſhippes, having never ſeene any of the like forme and greatneſſe, they ſuppoſed they had beene rockes. But ſeeing them advance, and not to ſincke, they ſtood tranſported with amazement, vntill that beholding them neerer, they diſcovered men with beards that walked in them, whom then they held for ſome gods or heavenly creatures. Whereby it appeares, how ſtrange it was to the *Indians* to have great Ships. There is yet an other reaſon, which confirmes vs in the foreſayd opinion, which is, that theſe beaſtes (which we ſay are not likely to have been tranſported by Sea to the *Indies*,) remayne onely on the maine Land, and not in any Ilands, foure dayes iorney from the maine Land. I have made this ſearch for proofe thereof, for that it ſeemes to me a point of great importance, to confirme me in mine opinion, that the confines of the *Indies*, *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Affricke* have ſome communication one with another, or at the leaſt, approch very neere together. There are in *America*

and *Peru* many wilde beastes, as Lyons: (although they be not like in greatnesse, fiercenesse, nor of the same colour redde, to the renowmed Lyons of *Affrica*.) There are also many Tygers, very cruell, and more to the *Indians* then to the *Spaniardes*: there are likewise Beares, but in no great aboundance: of Boares and Foxes an infinite number. And yet if wee shall seeke for all these kindes of beastes in the Ilands of *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Iamaica*, *Marguerita*, or *Dominica*, you shall not finde any. So as in the sayde Ilands, although they were very fertile, and of a great circuit, yet was there not any kind of beastes for service when the Spaniards arrived, but at this day there are so great troopes of Horses, Oxen, Kyne, Dogs and Hogges, which have multiplied in such abundance, as now the Kine have no certaine master, but belong to him that shal first kil them, be it on the mountaines or on the plaines; which the *Indians* do, onely to save their hides, whereof they make great traffick, without any regard of the flesh to eate it. Dogges have so increased, as they march by troopes, and endammage the cattell no lesse then wolves, which is a great inconvenience in these Ilands. There wants not onely beastes in these Ilands, but also birdes both great and small. As for Parrets, there are many that flie by flockes, but (as I have said,) there are few of any other kinde. I have not seene, nor heard of any Partriges there, as in *Peru*. Likewise, there are few of those beastes, which at *Peru* they call *Guancos*, and *Vicunas*, like to wilde Goates, very swifte, in whose stomacke they find the Beezars stone, which many do greatly value: sometimes you shall finde them as bigge as a hens egge, yea, halfe as bigge againe. They have no other kinde of beastes, but such as we call Indian sheepe,

sheepe, the which (besides their wooll and flesh (wherewith they clothe and feede themselves,) do serve them as Asses to beare their burthens. They carrie halfe as much as a Moyle, and are of small charge to their masters, having neede, neither of shooes, saddle, nor oates to live by, nor of any furniture, for that Nature hath provided them of all these, wherein she seemes to have favoured these poore Indians. Of all these creatures, and of many other sortes, whereof I will make mention, the maine land at the *Indies* abounds. But in the Ilands, there are not any found, but such as the Spaniards have brought. It is true, that once one of our Friars did see a Tigre in an Iland, as hee reported vnto vs vpon the discourse of his peregrination and shipwracke; but being demanded how farre it was from the maine land, he answered, sixe or eight leagues at the most; which passage, Tigres might easily swimme over. We may easily inferre by these arguments, and others like, that the first Indians went to inhabite the *Indies*, more by land then by sea; or if there were any navigation, it was neither great, nor difficult, being an indibitable thing, that the one world is continued and ioyned with the other, or at the least, they approach one neere vnto another in some parts.

That the linage of the Indies, *hath not passed by the Atlantike Iland, as some do imagine.* CHAP. 22.

SOme (following *Platoes* opinion mentioned before,) affirme, that these men parted from *Europe*, or *Affricke*, to go to that famous and renowmed *Atlantike* Iland, and so passed from one Iland vnto ano- *Sap. cap. 12.*

ther, vntill they came to the maine land of the *Indies*: for that *Critias* of *Plato* in his time discourseth in this maner: if the *Atlantike* Iland were as great as all *Asia*, and *Affrike* together, or greater, as *Plato* saies, it should of necessitie containe all the *Atlantike* Ocean, and stretch even vnto the Ilands of the new world. And *Plato* saieth moreover, that by a great and strange deluge, the *Atlantike* Iland was drowned, and by that meanes the sea was made vnnavigable, through the aboundance of banckes, rockes, and roughnesse of the waves, which were yet in his time. But in the end, the ruines of this drowned Iland were setled, which made this sea navigable. This hath been curiously handled and discoursed of by some learned men of good iudgement; and yet (to speake the truth) being well considered, they are ridiculous things, resembling rather to *Ovids* tales, then a Historie or Philosophie, worthy of accoumpt. The greatest part of *Platocs* Interpreters, affirme, that it is a true Historie, whatsoever *Critias* reports of the strange beginning of the *Atlantike* Iland, of the greatnes thereof, of the warres they had against them of *Europe*, with many other things. That which gives it the more credite of a true Historie, be the wordes of *Critias*, (whom *Plato* brings in in his time,) saying, that the subiect he meanes to treate of, is of strange things, but yet true. The other disciples of *Plato*, considering that this discourse hath more shew of a fable, then of a true Historie, say, that we must take it as an allegorie, and that such was the intention of their divine Philosopher. Of this opinion is *Procles*, and *Porphire*, yea, and *Origene*, who so much regardes the writings of *Plato*, as when they speake thereof, they seeme to bee the bookes of *Moses*, or of *Esdras*: and

whereas

whereas they thinke the writings of *Plato* have no shew of truth, they say, they are to be vnderstood mystically, and in allegories. But to say the truth, I do not so much respect the authoritie of *Plato*, (whom they call Divine,) as I wil beleeve he could write these things of the *Atlantike* Iland for a true Historie, the which are but meere fables, seeing hee confesseth that hee learned them of *Critias*, being a little childe, who (among other songs,) sung that of the *Atlantike* Iland. But whether that *Plato* did write it for a true Historie, or a fable, for my part, I beleeve that all which he hath written of this Iland, beginning at the Dialogue of Time, and continuing to that of *Critias*, cannot be held for true, but among children and old folkes. Who will not accoumpt it a fable, to say that *Neptune* fell in love with *Clite*, and had of her five paire of twinnes at one birth? And that out of one mountaine, hee drew three round balles of water, and two of earth, which did so well resemble, as you would have iudged them all one bowell? What shall wee say moreover of that Temple of a thousand pace long, and five hundred broade, whose walles without were all covered with silver, the seeling of gold, and within ivorie, indented and inlaied with gold, silver, and pearle? In the end, speaking of the ruine thereof, he concludes thus in his time, *In one day, and one night, came a great deluge, whereby all our souldiers were swallowed by heapes within the earth, and in this sort the Atlantike Iland being drowned, it vanished in the Sea.* Without doubt it fell out happily, that this Iland vanished so suddenly, seeing it was bigger then *Asia* and *Affrike*: and that it was made by enchantment. It is in like sort all one to say, that the ruines of this so great an Iland, are seene in the bottome of the sea, and that

the

the Mariners which see them, cannot saile that way. Then he addes, *For this cause vnto this day, that Sea is not navigable, by reason of the bancke which by little & little is growne in that drowned Iland.* I would willingly demand what Sea could swallow vp so infinite a continent of land, greater then *Asia* and *Affrike*, whose confines stretched vnto the *Indies*, and to swallow it vp in such sort, as there should at this day remaine no signes nor markes thereof, whatsoever: seeing it is well knowne by experience, that the Mariners finde no bottome in the Sea, where they say this Iland was. Notwithstanding, it may seeme indiscreete and farre from reason, to dispute seriously of those things which are reported at pleasure, or if we shall give that respect to the authoritie of *Plato* (as it is reason,) we must rather vnderstand them to signifie simply, (as in a picture) the prosperitie of a Citie, and withall, the ruine thereof. For the argument they make, to prove that this *Atlantike* Iland, hath bene really and indeede, saying that the sea in those parts, doth at this day beare the name of *Atlantike*, is of small importance, for that wee knowe Mount *Atlas*, whereof *Plinie* sayes this sea tooke the name, is vpon the confines of the Mediterranean Sea. And the same *Plinie* reportes, that ioyning to the said Mount, there is an Iland called *Atlantike*, which he reportes to be little, and of small accompt.

Plin. lib. 5. cap. 1. & lib. 6. c. 31

That the opinion of many which holde, that the first race of the Indians *comes from the* Iewes, *is not true.* CHAP. 23.

NOw that wee have shewed how vnlikely it is, that the first *Indians* passed to the *Indies* by the *Atlantike*

tike Iland, there are others holde opinion, that they tooke the way, whereof *Esdras* speakes in his fourth booke, in this manner: *And whereas thou sawest that he gathered an other peaceable troope vnto him, thou shalt know, those are the ten tribes, which were caried away captives out of their own land, in the time of king* Ozeas, *whom* Salmanazar *king of the* Assyrians *tooke captives, and ledde them beyond the river, so were they brought into an other land: but they tooke this counsell to themselves, to leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a farther countrie, where never mankind dwelt, that they might there observe their statutes, which they could not keepe in their owne land: and they entred by the narrowe passages of the river* Euphrates, *for then God shewed his wonders, and stayed the springs of the flood, vntill they were passed over: for the way vnto that Countrie is very long, yea, of a yeere and a halfe, and this Region is called* Arsareth, *then dwelt they there vntill the latter time, and when they come forth againe, the most Mightie shall hold still the springs of the river againe, that they may goe through; for this cause sawest thou this multitude peaceable.* Some will apply this text of *Esdras* to the *Indies*, saying, they were guided by God, whereas never mankinde dwelt, and that the land where they dwelt, is so farre off, as it requires a yeere and a halfe to performe the voyage, beeing by nature very peaceable. And that there are great signes and arguments amongst the common sort of the *Indians*, to breed a beleefe, that they are descended from the *Iewes*: for commonly you shall see them fearefull, submisse, ceremonious and subtill in lying. And moreover they say, their habites are like vnto those the *Iewes* vsed; for they weare a short coat or waste-coat, and a cloake imbroidered all about; they goe bare-footed, or with soles tied

4. Esdr. 13.

tied with latchets over the foot, which they call *Oiotas*. And they say, that it appeares by their Histories, as also by their ancient pictures, which represent them in this fashion, that this attire was the ancient habite of the Hebrewes, and that these two kinds of garments, which the *Indians* onely vse, were vsed by *Samson*, which the Scripture calleth *Tunicam*, and *Sidonem*: beeing the same which the *Indians* terme wast-coat and cloake. But all these coniectures are light, and rather against them then with them; for wee know well, that the Hebrewes vsed letters, whereof there is no shew among the *Indians*; they were great lovers of silver, these make no care of it: the Iewes, if they were not circumcised, held not themselves for Iewes, and contrariwise the *Indians* are not at all, neyther did they ever vse any ceremonie neere it, as many in the East have done. But what reason of coniecture is there in this, seeing the Iewes are so careful to preserve their language and Antiquities, so as in all parts of the world they differ and are known from others, and yet at the *Indies* alone, they have forgotten their Linage, their Law, their Ceremonies, their *Messias*; and finally, their whole *Iudaisme*. And whereas they say, the *Indians* are feareful cowards, superstitious, and subtill in lying; for the first, it is not common to all, there are some nations among the *Barbarians* free from these vices, there are some valiant and hardy, there are some blunt and dull of vnderstanding. As for ceremonies and superstitions, the Heathen have alwayes vsed them much; the manner of habites described which they vse, being the plainest and most simple in the world; without Arte, the which hath been common, not onely to the Hebrewes, but to all other Nations; seeing that the very History of *Esdras* (if wee

shall

ſhall beleeve the Scriptures that bee *Apocrypha*) make more againſt them then for their purpoſe: for hee ſaith in that place, that the ten tribes went from the multitude of the Heathen, to keepe their faith and ceremonies, and we ſee the *Indians* given to all the Idolatries in the world. And thoſe which holde this opinion, ſee well if the entries of the River *Euphrates* ſtretch to the *Indies*, and whether it be neceſſary for the *Indies* to repaſſe that way, as it is written. Beſides, I know not how you can name them peaceable, ſeeing they be alwaies in warre amongſt themſelves. To conclude, I cannot ſee how that *Euphrates* in *Eſdras Apocrypha*, ſhould be a more convenient paſſage to goe to the new world, then the inchanted & fabulous *Atlantike* Iland of *Plato*.

The reaſon why we can find no beginning of the Indians. Chap. 24.

IT is eaſier to refute and contradict the falſe opinions conceyved of the Originall of the *Indians*, then to ſet downe a true and certaine reſolution; for that there is no writing among the *Indians*, nor any certaine remembrances of their founders: neyther is there any mention made of this new world in their bookes that have knowledge of letters: our Ancients held, that in thoſe parts, there were neyther men, land, nor haven. So as hee ſhould ſeeme raſh and preſumptuous, that ſhould thinke to diſcover the firſt beginning of the *Indians*. But we may iudge a farre off, by the former diſcourſe, that theſe *Indians* came by little and little to this newe world, and that by the helpe and meanes of the neereneſſe of lands, or by ſome navigation; the which

which seemes to mee the meanes whereby they came, and not that they prepared any armie to goe thither of purpose: neyther that they have been caried thither by any ship-wracke or tempest, although some of these things may chance in some part of the *Indies*: for these Regions beeing so great, as they containe Nations without number, we may beleeve, that some came to inhabite after one sort, and some after an other. But in the ende I resolve vpon this point, that the true and principall cause to people the *Indies*, was, that the lands and limits thereof are ioyned and continued in some extremities of the world, or at the least, were very neere. And I beleeve, it is not many thousand yeeres past, since men first inhabited this new world and West *Indies*, and that the first men that entred, were rather savage men and hunters, then bredde vp in civill and well governed Common-weales: and that they came to this new world, having lost their owne land, or being in too great numbers, they were forced of necessitie to seeke some other habitations; the which having found, they beganne by little and little to plant, having no other law, but some instinct of nature, and that very darke, and some customes remayning of their first Countries. And although they came from Countries well governed, yet is it not incredible to thinke, that they had forgotten all through the tract of time and want of vse; seeing that in *Spaine* and *Italie* we find companies of men, which have nothing but the shape and countenance onely, whereby we may coniecture in what sort this new world grew so barbarous and vncivill.

What the Indians report of their beginning.

Chap. 25.

IT is no matter of any great importance, to know what the Indians themſelves report of their beginning, being more like vnto dreames, then to true Hiſtories. They make great mention of a deluge hapned in their Countrie: but we cannot well iudge if this deluge were vniverſall (whereof the ſcripture makes mention,) or ſome particular inundation of thoſe regions where they are. Some expert men ſay, that in thoſe Countries are many notable ſignes of ſome great inundation, and I am of their opinion which thinke that theſe markes and ſhewes of a deluge, was not that of *Noe*, but ſome other particular, as that which *Plato* ſpeakes of, or *Deucalions* floud, which the Poets ſing of: whatſoever it be, the *Indians* ſay, that al men were drowned in this deluge: and they report that out of the great Lake *Titicaca*, came one *Viracocha*, which ſtaied in *Tiaguanaco*, where at this day there is to bee ſeene the ruines of ancient and very ſtrange buildings, and from thence came to *Cuſco*, and ſo began mankinde to multiply. They ſhew in the ſame Iland a ſmall Lake, where they faine that the ſunne hid himſelfe, and ſo was preſerved; and for this reaſon they make great ſacrifices vnto him in that place, both of ſheepe and men. Others report, that ſixe, or I know not what number of men, came out of a certaine cave by a window, by whome men firſt began to multiplie: and for this reaſon they call them *Pacaritampo*. And therefore they are of opinion, that the *Tambos* is the moſt ancient race of men. They ſay alſo, that *Mango Capa*, whom they acknowledge for the founder and chiefe of their *Inguas*, was

iſſued

issued of that race, and that from him sprang two families or linages, the one of *Havan Cusco*, the other of *Vrni Cusco*. They say moreover, that when the Kings *Inguas* attempted warre and conquered sundrie Provinces, they gave a colour and made a pretext of their enterprise, saying, that all the world ought to acknowledge them; for that all the world was renued by their race and Countrie: and also that the true religion had been reveiled to them from heaven. But what availeth it to speake more, seeing that all is full of lies and vanitie, and farre from reason? Some learned men write, that all which the Indians make mention of, is not above 400. yeeres old, and whatsoever they speake of former ages, is but a confusion full of obscuritie, wherein we find no truth. The which may not seeme strange, they having no vse of bookes, or writing; in steede whereof, they vse counting with their *Quipocamayes*, the which is peculiar vnto them. By which reckoning all they can report is not past 400. yeeres. Instructing my selfe carefully of them, to know from what land, and what nation they passed, to that where they now live, I have found them so farre vnable to give any reason thereof, as they beleeve confidently, that they were created at their first beginning at this new world, where they now dwell. But we have freed them of this error by our faith, which teacheth vs, that all men came from the first man. *Act. 17.* There are great and apparant coniectures, that these men for a long time, had neither Kings nor common weales, but lived in troupes, as they do at this day in *Florida*, the *Chiriquanas*, those of *Bresil*, and many other nations, which have no certaine Kings, but as occasion is offered in peace or warre, they choose their Captaines as they please. But some men excelling

others

others in force and wit, began in time to rule and domineere as *Nembroth* did: so increasing by little and little, they erected the kingdomes of *Peru* and *Mexico*, which our Spaniards found: and although they were barbarous, yet did they farre surpasse all the other Indians. Behold how the foresaid reason doth teach vs, that the Indians began to multiply, for the most part, by savage men and fugitives, which may suffice touching the beginning of these men we speake of, leaving the rest, vntill we treate of their Historie more at large. Gen. 10.

(* * *)

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies.

That it is not out of purpose, but necessarie to treate of the nature of the Equinoctiall. CHAP. 1.

FOR the well conceiving of things at the *Indies*, it is necessarie to know the nature and disposition of that Region, which the Ancients did call the burning Zone, the which they held inhabitable, seeing the greatest part of this new world, which hath bin of late discovered, lies and is scituate vnder this region in the midst of heaven. And it seemes to me greatly to purpose which some do say, that the knowledge of things at the *Indies*, depends of the well vnderstanding the nature of the Equinoctiall: for that the difference which is betwixt the one and the other world, proceeds in a maner from the qualities of this Equinoctiall. And we must note, that all the space betwixt the two Tropickes, must be properly taken and held for this middle line, which is the

Equinoctiall

Equinoctiall, so called, for that the Sunne running his course therein, makes the daies & nights even throughout the world: yea, they that dwell vnder this line, inioy, throughout the yeare, the same equalitie of daies, and nights. In this Equinoctiall line, we finde so many admirable qualities, that with great reason mans vnderstanding doth studie and labour to search out the causes, not moved therevnto so much by the doctrine of ancient Philosophers, as by reason and certaine experience.

For what reason the Ancients held, that the burning Zone was inhabitable. CHAP. 2.

EXamining this subiect from the beginning, no man can denie that which we plainely see, that the Sunne when it drawes neere, doth heate, and when it retyres, groweth cold. The daies and nightes, with the Winter and Summer be witnesses heereof; whose varietie with the heate and cold, growes by the neerenes and distance of the Sunne. Moreover it is certaine, the more the Sunne approacheth and casteth his beames prependicularly, the more the earth is scorched and burnt, the which we see plainely in the heate of the South, and in the force of Summer, whereby we may iudge (in my opinion) that the farther a Countrie is distant from the course of the Sunne, the more cold it is. So we finde by experience, that the Countries and Regions, which approach neerest to the North, are coldest: and contrariwise, those that lie neere the *Zodiake*, where the Sunne keepes his course, are most hot. For this cause *Ethiopia* passeth *Affrike* and *Barbarie* in

heate, *Barbarie* exceedes *Andalousia*, *Andalousia*, *Castile* and *Arragon* surpasse *Biscaie* and *Fraunce*. And the more they decline to the North, the colder they are: and so by consequence, those which approach neerest to the Sunne, and are beaten perpendicularly with his beames, they do most feele the heate thereof. Some vrge another reason to this effect, which is, that the motion of the heaven is very sodaine and light towards the *Tropikes*, but neere the Poles it is slow and heavie, whereby they conclude, that the region which the *Zodiake* circles and conteines, is set on fire with heate for three causes and reasons; the one for the neerenes of the Sunne, the other, for that his beames reflect directly, and the third, for that it doth participate and feele this swift and sodaine motion of the heaven. See what reason and discourse teacheth vs, touching the cause of heat and cold vpon the regions of the earth. But what shall we say of the two other qualities, wet and drie? Even the same. For the drought seemes to grow by the neerenes of the Sunne, and moistnes, being retired farre off, for that the night being colder then the day, is likewise more moist; and the day which is drier, is also hotter. Winter, whilst the Sun runnes his course farther off, is more cold and rainie, and Summer, when the Sunne is neere, is more hotte and drie: for even as the fire hath the propertie to parch and burne, so hath it to drie vp the moistnes. These things therefore considered, *Aristotle* and other Philosophers attribute vnto the regions of the South, which they call burning, an excessive heat and a drouth likewise. And therefore they said, this region is wonderfully scorched and drie; & so by consequence, hath neither waters nor pastures, whereby of necessitie it must be contrarie and vnfit for mans life.

That the burning Zone is very moist, contrary to the opinion of the Ancients. CHAP. 3.

ALl that we have propounded, seemes vndoubtedly true, and to purpose; and yet the conclusion they would draw from it, is directly false; for that the Region of the South, which they call the burning *Zone*, is peopled and inhabited by men; and wee our selves have stayed long there, beeing very commodious, pleasant and agreeable. If therefore it be so (as we cannot denie it) that from a true proposition, we cannot draw a false conclusion, and yet this conclusion should be false, (as indeed it is,) we must of necessitie returne backe the same way, to examine this proposition more strictly, & whence the error should proceede: we will first shew the trueth, as assured experience doth teach vs, then will we proove it, (although it be verie difficult) and will endevour to give a reason, following the termes of Philosophie. The last point that wee propounded, that the drought is greatest, whenas the Sunne is neerest to the earth, seemeth certaine and infallible, and yet it is very false; for there is never greater aboundance of raine in the burning *Zone*, then whenas the Sunne goeth directly over them, and is very neere. Truely it is an admirable thing, and worthy observation, that the ayre is most cleere, and without rayne vnder this burning *Zone*, whenas the Sunne is fartheſt off; and contrariwise there is most rayne, snow and mists, whenas the Sunne is neerest. Such as have not travelled in this new world, wil happily thinke this incredible, and it will seeme strange even vnto such as have beene there, if they have not well observed it: but

the one and the other will willingly yeeld, in noting the certaine experience of that which hath beene sayd of this part of *Peru*, which looks to the Southerne or *Antartike* Pole: the Sunne is then fartheſt off, when it is neereſt vnto *Europe*, that is, in Maie, Iune, Iuly and Auguſt, whenas hee makes his courſe in the Tropicke of *Cancer*. During which Moneths, the aire at *Peru* is very cleere and calme, neyther doth there fall any ſnow or raine; all their rivers fall much, and ſome are dried vp quite: but as the yeere increaſeth, and the Sunne approcheth neere vnto the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, then begins it to raine and to ſnow, and their Rivers ſwell from October to December. Then after that the Sun retyring from *Capricorne*, whenas his beames reflect directly vpon the heads of them of *Peru*, then is the violence of their waters great, then is the time of raine, ſnow, and great overflowings of their Rivers, when as their heate is greateſt, that is, from Ianuarie to mid March: this is ſo true and certaine, as no man may contradict it. And at that time the contrary is found in the Regions of the Pole *Articke*, beyond the *Equinoctiall*, which proceeds from the ſame reaſon. But let vs now looke into the temperature of *Panama* & all that coaſt, as well of new *Spaine*, the Ilands of *Barlovent*, *Cuba*, *Hiſpaniola*, *Iamaica*, as of S. *Iohn de Port ricco*, wee ſhall without doubt finde, that from the beginning of November, vntill Aprill, they have the aire cleere and bright; the reaſon is, for that the Sunne paſſing by the *Equinoctiall* to the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, retyres from thoſe Regions more then at any other time of the yeere. And contrariwiſe, they have violent ſhowers and great ſwellings of water, whenas the Sunne returnes and is neereſt vnto them, which is from Iune, vn-

to

to September, for then his beames beate most vpon them. The like happens at the East *Indies*, as we learne daily by letters that come. So as it is a generall rule, (although in some places there is an exception) that in the Region of the South or burning *Zone*, which is all one, the aire is most cleere and driest, whenas the Sun is farthest off; and contrariwise, when it approcheth, there is greatest rayne and humiditie: and even as the Sunne advanceth or retyreth little or much, even so the earth abounds or wants water and moisture.

That in the Regions which be without the Tropicks, there is greatest store of waters, whenas the Sunne is farthest off, contrary to that vnder the burning Zone.

CHAP. 4.

IN Regions which lie without the Tropicks, we see the contrary to that which hath beene spoken: for that the rayne is mingled with cold, & the drought with heate, the which is well knowne in all *Europe* and the old world, as we see in the same manner in the new world, whereof the whole Kingdome of *Chile* is a witnesse, which lying without the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, and in the same height with *Spaine*; is subiect to the same lawes of Winter and Summer; but that Winter is there, whenas it is Summer in *Spaine*, being vnder divers Poles. So as when it is cold in these Provinces, the waters are in great aboundance, which is, when the Sunne is farthest off, from the beginning of Aprill, to the end of September: finally, the disposition of seasons is like to that in *Europe*, which is, that the heat and drought comes whenas the Sunne returnes, which is

the cauſe that this Realme of *Chile* approcheth neerer the temperature of *Europe*, then any other of the *Indies*, as well in the fruites of the earth, as in the bodies and ſpirits of men. The like they report of that part which lies before the Inner *Ethiopia*, that ſtretcheth out in manner of a point vnto the Cape *Bonne Eſperance* or Good Hope, the which they holde for a true cauſe of the inundations of *Nile*, which bee in Summer, whereof the Ancients have ſo much diſputed, for that in that Region the Winter and raine begins in April, whenas the Sunne hath paſſed *Aries*: and theſe waters, which partly grow from ſnow, and partly from raine, aſſemble and make great Lakes and Pooles, from whence by good and true Geographie the River of *Nile* proceedes, and by this meanes goes by little and little ſtretching out her courſe, till that having runne a long way, it finally in the time of Summer overfloweth *Egypt*, which ſeemeth againſt nature, and yet it is certainely reported; for at what time it is Summer in *Egypt*, lying vnder the Tropicke of *Cancer*, then is it winter at the ſpringes of *Nile*, which is vnder the other Tropicke of *Capricorne*. There is in *America* an other inundation like to that of *Nile*, at *Paraguen*, or River *de la Plata*, which is as much to ſay, as the River of ſilver, the which receiving yeerely infinite waters which fall from the Mountaines of *Peru*, doth ſo terribly ſwell in her courſe, and over-flowes that Region, as the Inhabitants are forced, during thoſe Moneths, to retyre themſelves into boats and *Canoes*, and to leave the dwelling of the Land.

That betwixt the two Tropicks, the greatest abundance of raine is in Summer, with a discourse of Winter and Summer. CHAP. 5.

TO conclude, Summer is alwayes accompanied with heate and drought, in the two temperate *Zones*, and Winter with cold and moistnesse: but vnder the burning *Zone* those qualities are not alike, for that raine accompanies heate, and drought followeth the cold: I vnderstand by cold, want of excessive heat, so as Winter is taken in our *Europe* for the colde and raynie season, and Summer for the hot and cleere season. Our Spaniards which live at *Peru*, and in newe *Spaine*, seeing these two qualities not to concurre together as in *Spaine*, call that season Winter, wherein there is greatest aboundance of raine and waters; and Summer, where there is little or none at all: wherein they are plainely deceived, although they affirme by a generall rule, that in the Mountaines of *Peru*, it is Summer from the Moneth of Aprill to September, for that the raine ceaseth in that season; and that Winter is, from the moneth of September vnto Aprill, for that the showres returne then; and therefore it is winter and summer at the same instant that in *Spaine*. So as when the Sunne goeth directly over their heads, they then take it to bee the depth of Winter, having greatest store of raine. But it is worthy to be laughed at, comming from ignorant men and vnlearned: for even as the difference betwixt the day and night proceeds from the presence or absence of the Sunne in our hemisphere, according to the motion of the first motor, which is the cause of day and night; even so the difference

rence which we see betwixt Winter and Summer, proceeds from the neereneſſe and diſtance of the Sunne, according to the motion of the ſaid Sunne, which is the proper cauſe. To ſpeake trueth then, it is Summer whenas the Sunne is neereſt, and Winter when it is fartheſt off. Both heate and coldneſſe, and every other temperature, growes of neceſſitie, by the neereneſſe and diſtance of the ſunne; but to raine, or not to raine, which is humiditie and drought, doe not neceſſarily follow. It is therefore eaſie to iudge (beſides this vulgar opinion) that at *Peru*, the Winter is cleere and without raine, and the Summer full of ſhowres, and not otherwiſe, as many beleeve, that the winter is hotte, and the ſummer cold. They fall into the like error, vpon the difference they make betwixt the Plaines and the Mountaines of *Peru*, ſaying, that when it is ſummer vpon the mountaine, it is winter in the vallie, which is in April, Maie, Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt: for then the aire is very cleere vpon the mountaine, without any raine or miſtes, and at the ſame ſeaſon, we commonly ſee fogges in the plaine, which they call *Guarva*, which is as it were a very ſweet dew wherewith the ſunne is covered. But winter and ſummer, as it is ſaid, are cauſed by the neereneſſe and diſtance of the ſunne. Seeing then that throughout all *Pern*, both vpon the Mountaines and on the Plaines, the ſunne approcheth and retyreth in one ſort, there is no reaſon to ſay, that when it is ſummer in one part, that it is winter in an other; yet is it no matter of any importance, to contend vpon the ſignification of words: Let them terme them as they pleaſe, and call that ſummer when it raines not, although the heat be greater. But that, whereunto we muſt have greateſt regard, is the trueth of the ſubiect,

which

which is, that drought and want of raine, is not alwaies greatest, when the sunne approcheth neerest, as we see in the burning *Zone*.

That the burning Zone *abounds with waters and pastures, against the opinion of* Aristotle, *who holds the contrarie.* Chap. 6.

BY the former Discourse wee may easily conceive, that the burning *Zone* is not drie, but abounding with waters; the which is so true, as it exceeds all the Regions of the world for store of waters, except in some parts, where there are sands and desart Countries, as wee finde likewise in some other parts of the world. As for water from Heaven, wee have alreadie shewen, that there is great aboundance of raine, snow and haile, which especially abound in the kingdome of *Peru*. But as for land-waters, as rivers, fountaines, brookes, springs, floods, and lakes, I have not spoken thereof till now; yet being an ordinarie thing, that the waters below have a correspondencie with them above, wee must not imagine that there can bee any want: and in trueth there is so great store of springs and fountaines, as you shall not finde in any Region or Countrie of the world; so many lakes, marishes, and such store of rivers, for the greatest part of *America* is almost inhabitable through too great aboundance of waters: for that the rivers swelled with the great Raines in Summer, doe often overflow their banckes, with such furie, as they breake all they incounter: and in many places they cannot passe, by reason of the mudde and myre of marishes and vallies: for this cause,

those

thoſe that live neere to *Paraguen*, (whereof wee have made mention,) foreſeeing the riſing of the River before it comes, put themſelves and their goods into *Canoes*, and ſo preſerve themſelves and their goods, floating vp and downe, almoſt for the ſpace of three moneths: and when the River is returned within her boundes, then they goe to their houſes, ſtill wette and dropping with the flood. And this River is ſo great, as *Nile*, *Ganges* & *Euphrates* all together cannot equall it. But what ſhall we ſay of the great river of *Magdalaine*, which falles into the ſea betwixt S. *Martha* and *Carthagene*, and with reaſon is called the great river? Sailing in thoſe parts, I was amazed to ſee her ſtreame (which was very cleere) runne ten leagues into the ſea, being in breadth above two leagues, not mingling nor vanquiſhed with the violent waves of the Ocean. But if we ſhall ſpeake more of rivers, that great floud called by ſome, the river of *Amazons*, by others *Marannon*, and by ſome, the river of *Orellana*, which our Spaniards ſailed in their diſcoveries, ought to blemiſh all the reſt; and in truth I am in doubt whither I may tearme it a river, or a ſea. It flowes from the mountaines of *Peru*, from whence it receiues a great aboundance of water, both of raine and of rivers, which it gathereth into it; then paſſing by the great plaines of *Pautiti*, *Dorado*, and the *Amazons*, in the end it falles into the Ocean, almoſt right againſt the Iland of *Marguerite* and *Trinidado*. It hath ſo large & broad a channel, ſpecially in the laſt third part of her length, as it contains in it many great Ilands. And that which ſeemes incredible, when you ſaile through the midſt of it, you ſhall ſee nothing but aire and water. They ſay moreover, that from the midſt you cannot ſee nor diſcover with the eye, many great

and

and high mountaines which are vpon the bankes, by reason of her great bredth. We have learned from credible persons, the great and wonderfull bredth of this river (which in my opinion, deserves well the name of Empresse and Queene of all flouds,) which was by the report of a brother of our company, who being then yong, sailed it in the company of *Peter d'Orsua*, with whom hee was present at all the adventures of this strange entrie and discoverie; and at the seditious and pernitious acts of that wicked *Diego d'Aguirra*, from the which God delivered him to place him in our company. Such are the rivers in that region, which they call the burning Zone, and the drie & parcht vp countrie, in the which *Aristotle* and the Ancients affirmed there were neither waters, nor pastures. But seeing I have made mention of the river of *Marannon*, to shew the abundance of the waters that are in the burning zone, it shall not be from the purpose, to speake somewhat of that great Lake which they call *Titicaca*, which is in the midst of the Province of *Collao*. There are above ten great rivers which loose themselves entring into that Lake, and yet hath it no issue but one small current of water, although some hold it to be very deepe, and of such a fashion, as it is impossible to build a bridge over it, for the depth of the water, neither can they passe it by boate for the violence of the current. They passe it by an artificiall and notable practice, peculiar to the Indians, with a bridge of straw laied vpon the water, the which (being of so light a substance) sinkes not, and yet this passage is very easie and safe. This Lake containes almost foure score leagues, thirtie five in length, and fifteene in bredth at the largest place. There are many Ilands which in olde time were inhabited and tilled,

tilled, but now lie waste. It brings forth a great abundance of reedes, which the Indians call *Totora*, which serves them to a thousand vses; for it is meate for swine, for horses, and for men, they make houses therewith, fire and barkes. To conclude, the *Vros* in this their *Totora* finde all they have neede of. These *Vros* be such dull and brutish people, as they esteeme not themselves men. It is reported of them, that being demanded of what nation they were? They answered, they were not men, but *Vros*, as it were some kinde of beastes. There are whole villages of these *Vros* inhabiting in the Lake in their boates of *Totora*, the which are tied together and fastened to some rocke, and often times the whole village changeth from place to place. So as hee that would seeke them now whereas they were yesterday, shall finde no shew nor remainder of them, or of their village. The current or issue of this Lake, having runne above fiftie leagues, makes another Lake, but lesse then the first which they call *Paria*, and containes in it some small Ilands, but they finde no issue thereof. Some imagine it runnes vnder the ground, & that it falles into the South sea; giving out, that there is a branch of a river which they see rise and enter into the sea neere the banke, having no knowledge of the Spring. But contrariwise, I beleeve that the waters of this Lake, dissolve and are dispearsed within the Lake it selfe through the heate of the Sunne. This discourse seemes sufficient to prove, that the Ancients had no reason to holde, that the middle region was inhabitable for the defect of waters, seeing there is such store both from heaven and on the earth.

Shewing the reaſon why the Sunne without the Tropicks, cauſeth greateſt quantitie of waters when it is fartheſt off; and contrariwiſe, within them it breedeth moſt, when it is neereſt. CHAP. 7.

CONſidering with my ſelfe often times, what ſhould cauſe the Equinoctial to be ſo moiſt, as I have ſaid; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reaſon, but the great force of the ſunne in thoſe partes, whereby it drawes vnto it a great aboundance of vapors from out of the Ocean, which in thoſe parts is very great and ſpatious: and having drawne vnto it this great aboundance of vapours, doth ſuddenly diſſolve them into raine, and it is approoved by many tryed experiences, that the raine and great ſtormes from heaven proceed from the violent heat of the Sunne: firſt (as we have ſaid before) it raines in thoſe countries, when as the Sunne caſts his beames directly vpon the earth, at which time he hath moſt force: but when the Sun retyres, the heat is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby we may conclude, that the force and heat of the Sunne is the cauſe of raine in thoſe Countries. Moreover we obſerve, both in *Peru*, New *Spaine*, and in all the burning *Zone*, that the raine doth vſually fall in after-noone, when as the ſunne-beames are in their greateſt force, being ſtrange to ſee it raine in the morning. And therefore travellers fore-ſeeing it, begin their iourneyes earely, that they may end and reſt before noone, for they hold that commonly it raines after noone. Such as have frequented and travelled thoſe Countries, can ſufficiently ſpeake thereof. And there are, that (having made ſome abode there) ſay, that the greateſt

greateſt aboundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to ſay the trueth, I could never make ſufficient proofe thereof, although I have obſerved it. Moreover, the dayes, the yeere and the moneths, ſhew the trueth hereof, that the violent heate of the ſunne cauſeth the raine in the burning *Zone*: experience teacheth vs the like in artificiall thinges, as in a *Limbecke*, wherein they draw waters from hearbs & flowers; for the vehemencie of the fire forceth and driveth vp an aboundance of vapours, which being preſſed, and finding no iſſue, are converted into liquor and water. The like wee ſee in gold and ſilver, which wee refine with quicke-ſilver, the fire being ſmall and ſlow, wee draw out almoſt nothing of the quicke-ſilver, but if it bee quicke and violent, it doth greatly evaporate the quick-ſilver, which incountring the head above, doth preſently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Even ſo the violent heate of the ſunne produceth theſe two effects, when it finds matter diſpoſed, that is, to draw vp the vapours on high, and to diſſolve them preſently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obſtacle to conſume them. And although theſe things ſeeme contrary, that one ſunne within the burning *Zone*, being neere, ſhould cauſe raine, and without the *Zone* afarre off ſhould breed the like effect; ſo it is, that all well conſidered, there is no contrarietie. A thouſand effects in naturall cauſes proceede of contrarie things by divers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; paſtures are dried and hardened by the ſunne and with the froſt; moderate exerciſe provokes ſleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dieth; if you lay on too much, it likewiſe quencheth:

for

for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well discerne a thing, it must not be too neere the eie, nor too farre off, but in a reasonable distance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing, we loose the sight, and too neere likewise, we cannot see it. If the sunne beames be weake, they draw vp no fogge from the rivers, if they be violent, having drawne vp the vapours, they presently dissolve and consume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes vp and preserves it: for this reason the vapours rise not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in morning, whenas the sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thousand examples of naturall causes vpon this subiect, which we see do often grow from contrarie things: whereby we must not wonder, if the sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable distance, causeth none at all. Yet there remaines one doubt, why the neerenes of the sunne causeth the raine vnder the burning Zone, and without, when it is fartheſt off. In my opinion the reason is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the sunne hath not force sufficient to consume the vapours which rise from the land and sea; for these vapours grow in great aboundance in the cold region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickened by the extremitie of the cold; and after being pressed, they dissolve and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the sunne is fartheſt off, the daies short, and the nights long, his heat hath small force: but when the sunne approacheth, which is in the summer time, his force is such, as it drawes vp the vapors, and suddenly consumes and disperseth them; for the heat and the length of the

daies grow through the neerenes of the ſunne. But within the Tropickes vnder the burning Zone, the far diſtance of the ſunne workes the ſame effects that the neerenes doth without the Tropiks; by reaſon whereof, it raines no more vnder the burning Zone when the ſunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neereſt, for that in this approaching and retyring, the ſunne remaines alwaies in one diſtance whence proceedes this effect of cleerenes. But when the ſunne is in the period of his force in the burning zone, and that he caſt his beames directly vpon the inhabitants heads, there is neither cleerenes nor drienes, as it ſeems there ſhould be, but rather great and ſtrange ſhowers; for that by this violent heat, he drawes vp ſuddenly a great aboundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are ſo thicke, as the winde, not able eaſily to diſperſe them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in ſo great aboundance: for the exceſſive heat may ſoone draw vp many vapours, the which are not ſo ſoone diſſolved: and being gathered together through their great aboundance, they melt and diſſolve into water. The which we may eaſily diſcerne by this familiar example: roſt a peece of porke, mutton, or veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, we ſee the fatte melts ſuddenly, and droppes away, the reaſon is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fatte from the meate, and being in great aboundance, cannot diſſolve it, and ſo it diſtills more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall diſtance, we ſee that it roſtes hanſomely, and the fatte drops not too ſuddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moiſtnes which it conſumes ſuddenly. And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire,

and

and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, leſt it melt away. The like may be ſeene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot conſume the moiſtnes which riſeth, but if the flame be proporcionable, the waxe melts nor droppes not, for that the flame doth waſte it by little and little as it riſeth. The which ſeemeth to me the true reaſon, why vnder the Equinoctiall and burning Zone, the violence of the heat doth cauſe raine, the which in other Regions growes through want thereof.

How wee ſhould vnderſtand, that which hath been formerly ſpoken of the burning Zone. Chap. 8.

IF in naturall and phiſicall things, we muſt not ſeeke out infallible and mathematicall rules, but that which is ordinarie and tried by experience, which is the moſt perfect rule, wee muſt then beleeve what wee have ſaid, that there is more humiditie vnder the burning Zone then in other Regions; and that it raines leſſe there, when the ſunne is neereſt, muſt be taken and vnderſtood after one ſort, as in truth it is the moſt common and ordinarie. But this is not to hinder the exceptions which nature hath given to this rule, making ſome Regions of the burning Zone extreamely drie. The which is reported of *Ethiopia*, and wee have ſeene it in a great part of *Peru*, where all that land or coaſt, which they call Plaines, wants raine, yea, land waters, except ſome vallies, where rivers fall from the mountaines; the reſt is a ſandie and barren ſoile, where you ſhall hardly finde any ſprings, but ſome deepe

welles. But with the helpe of God, wee will shew the reason why it raineth not in these Plaines (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to shew, that there are many exceptions to naturall rules, whereby it may happen, that in some part of the burning Zone, it raines not when the sunne is neerest, but being farthest off, although vnto this daie I have neither seene nor heard of it: but if it be so, wee must attribute it to the particular qualitie of the earth: and also, if sometimes the contrarie doth chance, we must have regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and dissolve one another. For example, it may be the sunne will cause raine, and that the winds will hinder it, or else cause more aboundance then hath been vsuall. The windes have their properties and divers beginnings, by the which they worke divers effects, the which are most commonly contrarie to that which the order & season requires. Seeing then in all places we see great varieties in the yeere, which proceedes from the divers motions and aspectes of Planets, it is not out of purpose to say, that in the burning Zone, wee may see and observe some things contrarie to that we have tried. But to conclude, that which we have spoken, is a certaine and vndoubted truth, which is, that the great draught which the Ancients held to be in the middle region, which they call the burning Zone, is nothing at all: but contrariwise there is great humiditie, and then it raines most, when the sunne is neerest.

That the Burning Zone is not violently hotte, but moderate. CHAP. 9.

HItherto wee haue treated of the humiditie of the Burning Zone, now it shall be fit to discourse of the other two qualities, Hotte, and Colde. We haue shewed in the beginning of this Discourse, how the Ancients held that the burning Zone was hotte and exceeding drie, the which is not so; for it is hote and moist, and in the greatest part, the heat is not excessiue, but rather moderate, which some would hold incredible, if we had not tried it. When I passed to the *Indies*, I will tell what chaunced vnto mee: having read what Poets and Philosophers write of the burning Zone, I perswaded my selfe, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I should not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwise; for when I passed, which was when the sun was there for Zenith, being entered into *Aries*, in the moneth of March, I felt so great cold, as I was forced to go into the sunne to warme me, what could I else do then, but laugh at *Aristotles* Meteors and his Philosophie, seeing that in that place, and at that season, whenas all should be scorched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a colde? In truth there is no region in the world more pleasant and temperate, then vnder the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but haue great diuersities. The burning Zone in some parts is very temperate, as in *Quitto*, and on the plaines of *Peru*, in some partes verie colde, as at *Potozi*, and in some very hote, as in *Ethiopia*, *Bresill*, and the *Molucques*. This diuersitie being knowne and certaine vnto vs, we must of force, seeke out another cause of cold and heat

then the sunne beames, seeing that in one season of the yeere, and in places of one height and distance, from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde so great diversitie, that some are invironed with heat, some with cold, and others tempered with a moderate heat. *Plato* placeth his most renowmed *Atlantike* Iland vnder the burning Zone; then he saieth, that at certaine seasons of the yeere, it hath the sunne for Zenith, and yet it was very temperate, fruitfull, and rich. *Plinie* saieth, that *Taprobana* (which at this day they call *Sumatra*,) is vnder the Equinoctiall, as in effect it is, writing, that it is not onely happie and rich, but also peopled with men and beasts: whereby we may easily iudge, that although the Ancients held the heate of the burning Zone to be insupportable, yet might they well vnderstand, that it was not so great as they had spoken. The most excellent Astrologer and Cosmographer *Ptolome*, and the worthie Philosopher and Physitian *Avicen*, were of a better resolution, being both of opinion, that vnder the Equinoctiall, there were verie commodious habitations.

Plato in Tim. & Critia.

Plin. lib. 6. c. 12

That the heat of the burning Zone is temperate, by reason of the rayne and the shortnes of the dayes.

CHAP. 10.

SInce the discoverie of this newe worlde, wee have found by experience, that which late Writers have held for trueth. But it is a naturall thing, whenas any matter beyond our conceit is made knowne vnto vs by experience, we by and by examine the cause. Therefore wee desire to know the reason, why a Region

where

where the sunne approcheth neerest, is not onely temperate, but in many parts cold. Considering this matter generally, I finde two general causes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moist and subiect to raine, and there is no doubt but the rayne doth refresh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hotte, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the sunne-beames. The which we see by experience in the inner *Arabia*, the which is burnt with the Sunne, having no showres to temper the violence thereof. The clouds and mists are the cause that the sunne offends not so much, and the showers that fall from them, refresh both the ayre and the earth, and moisten likewise how hot soever it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirst, as our men have well tried, having no other to drinke. So as reason and experience doth teach vs, that raine of it selfe doth temper the heat; and having by this meanes shewed, that the burning Zone is much subiect vnto raine, it appeares that there is matter in it, to temper the violence of the heat. To this I will adde an other reason, which deserves to be knowne, not only for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hotte and burning vnder the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, so as the heate of the day being there shorter, and of lesse continuance, it causeth not so violent a heate; the which it behooves to specifie more particularly. Such as are practised in the knowledge of the Spheare teach very well, that the more the Zodiake is oblique and traversing our Hemisphere, the more vnequall are the daies and nights; and contrariwise, where the sphere is straight, and the signes

mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is leſſe inequality then without them, and the more we approch the Line, the leſſe inequalitie we finde, the which we have tryed in thoſe parts. Thoſe of *Quitto*, for that they are vnder the line, have not throughout the whole yeere, the dayes and nights more ſhort at one ſeaſon, then at an other, but are continually equall. Thoſe of *Lima* beeing diſtant almoſt twelve degrees, finde ſome difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little, for that in December and Ianuarie, the dayes increaſe an houre or little leſſe. Thoſe of *Potozi* finde much more difference, both in winter and in ſummer, being almoſt vnder the Tropicke. But thoſe that live without the Tropikes, find the dayes in winter ſhorter, and in ſummer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctial and come neere the Pole, as we ſee in *Germany* and in *England*, the daies are longer in ſummer, then in *Italie* and in *Spaine*. It is a thing which the Sphere doth teach, and experience doth plainely ſhew vs. We muſt adde an other propoſition, which is likewiſe true and very conſiderable for all the effectes of nature to vnderſtand the perſeverance and continuation of the efficient cauſe to worke and moove. This preſuppoſed, if any one demaund of me, why vnder the Equinoctiall Line, the heat is not ſo violent in ſummer, as in ſome other Regions, (as in *Andelouſia* in the moneths of Iuly and Auguſt) I will anſwere, that in *Andelouſia* the dayes are longer, and the nights ſhorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and cauſeth heat; ſo the nights being cold and moiſt, give a refreſhing. According to the which, at *Peru*, there is no ſuch great heat, for that the

dayes

dayes in ſummer are not long, nor the nights ſhort; ſo as the heate of the day is much tempered by the freſhneſſe of the night. And although the burning Zone be neerer the Sunne then all other Regions, yet doth not the heate continue there ſo long. It is a naturall thing, that a ſmall fire continued, heats more, then a greater that laſtes but little, eſpecially if there bee any thing to refreſh it. He therefore that ſhal put theſe two properties of the Zone in one ballance, that it is moſt rainie in the time of greateſt heate, and that the dayes are ſhorteſt there, he ſhall perchance finde them to equall the other two contrarieties, which bee, that the Sunne is neerer and more directly over them then in other Regions.

That there be other reaſons beſides the former mentioned, which ſhew, that the burning Zone is temperate, eſpecially alongſt the Ocean. CHAP. II.

BEing a thing concluded, that the two forenamed properties are common and vniverſal to all the region of the burning Zone: and yet in the ſame there are found ſome places very hote, and other exceeding colde: Alſo, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but vnder one climate, one part is hote, another colde, and the third temperate, all at one ſeaſon; we are forced to ſeeke out other reaſons, whence this great diverſitie ſhould proceede in the burning Zone. Diſcourſing therefore vpon this queſtion, I do finde three apparant and certaine cauſes, and a fourth more obſcure and darke. The apparant and certaine cauſes be: The firſt is the Ocean, the ſecond, the ſituation

tuation of the land, and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundry windes. Besides these three which I holde for manifest, I beleeve there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparant, which is the propertie of the same land inhabited, and the particular influence of the heavens. Whoso woulde neerely consider the causes and generall reasons before mentioned, shall finde them insufficient for the full resolution of this point, observing that which daily happens in diverse partes of the Equinoctiall. *Manomotapa*, and a great part of the kingdom of *Prester Iean* are seated vnder the line, or very neere. In which regions they endure excessive heate, and the men are all blacke; the which is not onely in those parts of the land farre from the sea, but also in Ilands invironed with the sea. The Iland of Saint *Thomas* is vnder the Line, the Ilands of *Cape Verd* are very neere, and both in the one and the other are violent heates: and the men are likewise blacke. Vnder the same line, or very neere, lies a part of *Peru*, and of the new kingdome of *Grenado*, which notwithstanding are very temperate Countries, inclining rather to colde then heate, and the inhabitants are white. The Country of *Bresill* is in the same distance from the line with *Peru*, and yet both *Bresill* and all that coast is extreamely hot, although it be in the North sea, and the other coast of *Peru*, which is in the South sea, is very temperate. I say then, that whosoever would consider these differences, and give a reason thereof, cannot content himselfe with these generall rules before specified, to proove that the burning Zone may be a temperate land. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I have first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neerenesse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat:

for

for although the water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold, and it is a thing remarkeable, that in the depth of the Ocean, the water cannot be made hot by the violence of the Sunne, as in rivers: finally, even as salt-peeter (though it be of the nature of salt) hath a propertie to coole water, even so we see by experience, that in some ports and havens, the salt-water doth refresh; the which wee have observed in that of *Callao*, whereas they put the water or wine which they drinke, into the Sea in flaggons to be refreshed, whereby wee may vndoubtedly finde, that the Ocean hath this propertie, to temper and moderate the excessive heate: for this cause we feele greater heat at land then at sea, *Cæteris paribus*; and commonly Countries lying neere the sea, are coooler then those that are farther off. *Cæteris paribus*, as I have said, even so the greatest part of the new world, lying very neere the Ocean, wee may with reason say, although it bee vnder the burning Zone, yet doth it receive a great benefite from the sea to temper the heat.

That the highest landes are the coldest, and the reason thereof. CHAP. 12.

BVt if we shall yet search more particularly, we shall not finde in all this land an equall temperature of heate, although it be in equal distance from the sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some partes there is great heate, and in some, very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hote, and the other colde. It is most certaine, that the toppes of the moun-

mountaines are colder then in the bottome of the vallies, the which proceedes, not onely for that the sunne beames have greater repercussions vpon lower places, although it be a great reason; yet there is an other, which is, that the Region of the ayre is colder when it is farthest from the ground. The Plaines of *Collao* at *Peru* & of *Popaian* in new *Spaine* make sufficient proofe hereof. For without al doubt those parts are high countries, and for this reason cold, although they be all inuironed with high points of mountaines, much subiect to the Sunne beames. But if we demand why at *Peru*, and in new *Spaine*, the Plaines along the coast be very hote, and the plaines of the same Countries of *Peru* and new *Spaine* be contrariwise colder? In truth I see no other reason can be given, but that the one is a lowe country, and the other high. Experience dooth teach vs, that the middle region of the ayre is colder than the neather. And therefore the more the mountaines approach to the middle, the colder they are, being covered with snow and frosts. Reason it selfe dooth yeelde to it. For if there be a sphere and region of fire, as *Aristotle* and the other Philosophers say, the middle region of the ayre must be most colde, by *Antiparistasis*, the colde being expelled and thickned there, as in summer time we see in wells that are very deepe. For this cause the Philosophers affirme, that the two extreame regions of the ayre, that above, and the other belowe, are the hotteſt, and the middle region more colde. If it be thus, as experience doth teach vs, we shall yet draw out another reason and notable argument, to shew that the burning Zone is temperate, which is, that the greatest part of the *Indies* is a high countrey, filled with many mountaines, which by their neereneſſe refresh the

neighbor

neighbour countries. You may continually ſee vppon the toppes of theſe mountaines, ſnow, haile and frozen waters; and the cold ſo bitter, as the graſſe is all withered, ſo as the men and beaſts which paſſe that way, are benummed with colde. This, as I have ſaide, is in the burning Zone: and it happens moſt commonly when they have the ſunne for zenith. It is therefore moſt certaine and conformable vnto reaſon, that the mountaines are colder than the valleis and plaines, for that they participate more of the middle region of the aire, which is very colde. The cauſe why the middle region of the ayre is more colde, hath bin ſhewed before: for that the region of the aire next to the fiery exhalation, the which (according to *Ariſtotle*) is vpon the ſpheare of the aire, repells and thruſtes backe all the colde, the which retires it ſelfe into the middle region of the aire, by *Antipariſtaſis*, as the Philoſophers ſpeake. Now if any one ſhould queſtion with me in this manner; If it be ſo that the ayre is hot and moiſt, as *Ariſtotle* holdes, and as we commonly ſay, whence then proceeds the cold which is congealed in the middle region of the ayre, ſeeing it cannot come from the fierie ſpheare? For if it come from the water, or the earth, by this reaſon the lower region of the aire ſhould be colder than the middle. *Ariſt. Me.*

To anſwer truely what I thinke, I will confeſſe, that this Argument and Obiection is ſo difficult, as I am almoſt ready to follow the opinion of ſuch as reproove the qualities, agreements and diſagreements which *Ariſtotle* gives vnto the Elements, ſaying they are but imaginations, who for this occaſion hold the aire to be colde by nature. And to this end they vſe many arguments and reaſons, whereof we will propound one very

very familiar and well knowne, leaving the reſt aparte: In the canicular dayes we are accuſtomed to beate the ayre with a fanne, and we finde that it doth refreſh vs; ſo as theſe Authors affirme, that heate is no private property of any other Element, but of fire only, which is diſperſed and mingled with all things (as the great *Denis* doth teach vs.) But whether it be ſo, or otherwiſe (for I will not contradict *Ariſtotle*, but in that which is moſt certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle region of the ayre is colder than the loweſt next to the earth, as experience dooth ſhew vs; ſeeing that in this middle region are congealed, ſnowe, haile, froſts, and other ſignes of extreame colde. The middle region then which they call the burning Zone, having on the one ſide the ſea, and on the other the mountaines, we muſt hold them for ſufficient cauſes to temper and coole the heate.

Dionyſ.c.15. de cæl.hierar.

That the colde windes be the principall cauſe to make the burning Zone temperate. CHAH. 13.

THe temperature of this region ought chiefly to be attributed to the property of the wind that blows in that country, the which is pleaſant and freſh. The providence of the great God Creator of al things hath bin ſuch, as he hath ordained freſh and coole windes in that region where the ſunne makes his courſe (which ſeemes ſhould be burnt vp) that by their coolenes the exceſſive heate of the ſunne might be qualified. And they are not farre from apparance of reaſon, which held that the earthly Paradiſe was vnder the Equinoctiall. If they had not deceived themſelves in the cauſe

of

of their opinion, ſaying that the equalitie of the dayes and nights, was ſufficient of it ſelfe to make that Zone temperate; to which opinion many others have beene oppoſite, of which number was that renowmed Poet, ſaying;

That coaſt inceſſantly by hotte beames tyred
Of Phœbus, *who from thence never retyred.*

The cooleneſſe of the night then is not ſufficient to moderate and to correct the violent heate of the Sunne; but rather this burning Zone, receives ſo ſweet a temperature, by the benefite of the freſh and pleaſant aire, as notwithſtanding, it were held by the Ancients to be more hotte then a burning furnace: yet thoſe which inhabite there, take it for a delightfull ſpring. It appeares by arguments and very apparant reaſons, that the cauſe heereof conſiſtes principally in the qualitie of the winde. We ſee in one climate, ſome regions and Citties hotter then others, onely for that they feele leſſe winde to refreſh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like vnto a furnace. There are many of theſe Villages and Townes in *Breſill*, *Ethiopia*, and *Paraguen*, as every one knoweth, and that which is more conſiderable; wee ſee theſe differences, not only on the Land, but alſo on the Sea: there are ſome ſeas where they feele great heat, as they report of that of *Mozambigus* and *Ormus* in the Eaſt, and of the Sea of *Panama* in the Weſt: the which for this reaſon, engenders and brings forth great *Lizards* (called *Cayamans*,) as alſo in the ſea of *Breſill*. There are other ſeas in the ſame degree of height, very colde, as that of *Peru*, in the which wee were a cold, (as I have ſaid before) when we firſt ſailed it, which was in March, when the Sunne was directly

over

over vs. In truth on this continent, where the land and sea are of one sort, wee cannot imagine any other cause of this so great a difference, but the qualitie of the winde which doth refresh them. If wee shall neerely looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we have spoken, wee may resolve many doubts which some obiect, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames vppon the burning Zone, and particularly at *Peru*, and that more violently then in *Spaine* in the Canicular daies, yet they defend the heat with a light covering, so as with a slender covering of mats or straw, they are better preserved from the heate, then in *Spaine* vnder a roofe of wood, or a vault of stone. Moreover, why are not the nightes in summer at *Peru*, as hotte and troublesome as in *Spaine*? Wherefore on the highest tops of mountaines, even amongst the heaps of snow, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat? Wherefore in all the Province of *Colao*, when ye come into the shade, how little soever, you feele cold: But comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessive? Why is all the coast of *Peru*, being ful of sands, very temperate? And why is *Potozi* (distant from the silver Citie but eighteene leagues, and in the same degree) of so divers a temperature, that the Countrie being extreamely colde, it is wonderfully barren and drie? And contrariwise, the silver Citie is temperate, inclining vnto heat, and hath a pleasant and fertil soile? It is more certaine, that the winde is the principall cause of these strange diversities; for without the benefite of these coole windes, the heate of the Sunne is such, as (although it bee in the midst of the snow,) it burnes and sets all on fire: but when the coolenes of the

aire

aire returnes suddenly, the heat is qualified how great soever it be: and whereas this coole winde raines ordinarie, it keepes the grosse vapours and exhalations of the earth from gathering together, which causea heavie and troublesome heat: whereof we see the contrarie in *Europe*, for by the exhalation of these vapours, the earth is almost burnt vp with the Sunne by day, which makes the nights so hotte and troublesome, as the aire doth often seeme like vnto a furnace: for this reason, at *Peru*, this freshnes of the winde, is the cause (by the meanes of some small shade at the Sunne setting) that they remaine coole. But contrariwise, in *Europe* the most agreeable and pleasing time in summer, is the morning, and the evening is the most hotte and troublesome. But at *Peru*, and vnder all the Equinoctiall it is not so, for every morning the winde from the sea doth cease, and the Sunne beginnes to cast his beames; and for this reason they feele the greatest heat in the morning, vntill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tide or winde of the sea, which makes them first to feele cold. We have tried al this, whilst we were at the Ilands of *Barlovante*, where in the mornings we did sweat for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North-easterly wind which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

That they which inhabite vnder the Equinoctiall, live a sweete and pleasant life. CHAP. 14.

IF those which have held opinion, that the earthly Paradice was vnder the Equinoctiall, had beene guided by this discourse, they had not seemed altogether *Vives. lib. 13. de Ciuit. c. 21.*

deceived, not that I will conclude, that the delightfull Paradice, whereof the Scripture ſpeakes was in that place, which were too great a temeritie to affirme it for certaine. But I may well ſay, if there be any Paradice on earth, it ought to bee placed whereas they inioy a ſweete and quiet temperature; for there is nothing more troubleſome or repugnant to mans life, then to live vnder a heaven or aire that is contrarie, troubleſome or ſicklie: as there is nothing more agreeable, then to inioy a heaven that is ſound, ſweet and pleaſant: It is certaine that we do not participate of any of the Elements, nor have not the vſe of any ſo often in our bodies as of the aire. It is that which inironeth our bodies on all parts, which enters into our bowells, and at everie inſtant viſits the heart; and there ingraves her properties. If the aire be any thing corrupted, it cauſeth death, if it be pure and healthfull, it augmenteth the ſtrength; finally we may ſay, that the aire alone is the life of man: ſo as although we have goods and riches, if the aire be troubleſome and vnholſome, wee cannot live quietly, nor with content: But if the aire be healthfull, pleaſant, and ſweete, although we have no other wealth, yet doth it yeelde content. Conſidering with my ſelfe, the pleaſing temperature of many Countries at the *Indies*, where they know not what winter is, which by his cold doth freeſe them, nor ſummer which doth trouble them with heat, but that with a Matte they preſerve themſelves from the iniuries of all weather, and where they ſcarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I ſay, that often conſidering of this, I find that if men at this day, would vanquiſh their paſſions, and free themſelves from the ſnares of covetouſneſſe, leaving many fruiteleſſe and

perni-

pernicious diſſeines, without doubt they might live at the *Indies* very pleaſant and happily: for that which other Poets ſing of the *Eliſean* fields and of the famous *Tempe*, or that which *Plato* reports or faines of his *Atlantike* Iland; men ſhould finde in theſe lands, if with a generous ſpirit they would chooſe rather to command their ſilver and their deſires, then to remaine ſlaves as they are. That which wee have hitherto diſcourſed, ſhal ſuffice touching the qualities of the Equinoctiall, of colde, heat, drought, raine, and the cauſes of temperature. The particular diſcourſe of windes, waters, landes, mettalls, plants, and beaſts, (whereof there is great aboundance at the *Indies*,) ſhall remaine for the other bookes; for the difficultie of that which is handled in this, though briefly, will happily ſeeme too tedious.

An advertisement to the Reader.

THE Reader must understand, that I wrote the two first bookes in Latine, when I was at Peru, *and therefore they speake of matters of the* Indies, *as of things present: Being since returned into* Spaine, *I thought good to translate them into our vulgar tongue, and not to change my former maner of speeach. But in the five following bookes, for that I made them in* Europe, *I have beene forced to change my stile, and therein to treate of matters of the* Indies, *as of Countries and things absent. And for that this diversitie of speech might with reason offend the Reader, I have thought good to advertise him thereof.*

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Hiſtorie of the Indies.

That the naturall Hiſtorie of the Indies, *is pleaſant and agreeable.* CHAP. I.

EVerie naturall Hiſtorie is of it ſelfe pleaſing, & very profitable, to ſuch as will raiſe vp their diſcourſe and contemplation on high, in that it doth move them to glorify the Author of all nature, as we ſee the wiſe & holy men do, ſpecially *Dauid* in many Pſalmes. And *Iob* likewiſe, treating of the ſecrets of the Creator, whereas the ſame Lord anſwereth *Iob* ſo amplie. He that takes delight to vnderſtand the wondrous works of Nature, ſhal taſte the true pleaſure & content of Hiſtories; & the more, whenas he ſhal know they are not the ſimple workes of men, but of the Creator himſelf, & that he ſhall comprehend the naturall cauſes of theſe workes, then ſhall he truly occupie himſelfe in the ſtudie of Philoſophie. But he that ſhall raiſe his conſideration higher, beholding the gret & firſt architect of all theſe marvells, he ſhal know his wiſedom

Pſal. 103. 135. 91. 92. 18. 8. *Iob* 28. 39.

and infinite greatnes, and (we may say) shall be divinely imployed. And so the discourse of naturall things, may serve for many good considerations, although the feeblenes and weakenes of many appetites, are commonly accustomed to stay at things lesse profitable, which is the desire to know new things, called curiositie. The Discourse and Historie of naturall things at the *Indies* (besides the common content it gives,) hath yet another benefite, which is to treate of things a farre off, the greatest part whereof were vnknowne to the most excellent Authors of that profession, which have bin among the Ancients. And if wee should write these naturall things of the *Indies*, so amply as they require, being so strange, I doubt not but we might compile worke, no lesse then those of *Plinie*, *Theophrastes*, and *Aristotle*. But I hold not my selfe sufficient, and although I were, yet is not my intent, but to note some naturall things which I haue seene and knowne being at the *Indies*, or have received from men worthy of credit, the which seeme rare to me, and scarce knowne in *Europe*. By reason whereof, I will passe over many of them briefly, ether bicause they are writen of by others, or else require a longer discourse then I can now give.

Of the windes, their differences, properties, and causes in generall. Chap. 2.

HAving discoursed in the two former Books of that which concernes the heavens, and the habitation of the *Indies* in generall, it behooves vs now to treate of the three elements, aire, water and land, and their compounds, which be mettalls, plants and beasts; for as for the

the fire, I see no speciall matter at the *Indies* which is not in other regions; vnlesse some will say, that the manner to strike fire in rubbing two stones one against another, as some *Indians* vse, or to boyle any thing in gourdes, casting a burning stone into it, and other such like things, are remarkeable, whereof I have written what might be spoken. But of those which are in the *Vulcans* and mouths of fire at the *Indies*, worthy doubtlesse to be observed, I will speake in their order, treating of the diversitie of grounds, whereas they finde these fires or *Vulcans*. Therefore to beginne with the winds, I say, that with good reason, *Salomon* in the great iudgement which God had given him, esteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties, being very admirable; for that some are moyst, others drie, some vnwholesome, others sound, some hote, others colde, some calme and pleasant, others rough and tempestuous, some barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are some windes which blow in certaine regions, and are, as it were, Lordes thereof, not addmitting any entry or communication of their contraries. In some partes they blow in that sorte, as sometimes they are Conquerours, sometimes conquered; often there are divers and contrary winds, which doe runne together at one instant, dividing the way betwixt them, sometimes one blowing above of one sort, and another below of an othert sorte; sometimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at sea in great danger: there are some windes which helpe to the generation of creatures, and others that hinder and are opposite. There is a certaine wind, of such a quality, as when it blowes in some country, it causeth it to raine fleas, and in so great aboundaunce, as

they trouble and darken the aire, and cover all the sea shoare: and in other places it raines frogges. These diversities and others which are sufficiently knowne, are commonly attributed to the place by the which these windes passe. For they say, that from these places they take their qualities to be colde, hote, drie or moyst, sickly or sound, and so of the rest, the which is partly true, and cannot be denied; for that in a small distance you shall see in one winde many diversities. For example, the *Solanus* or Easterne winde is commonly hote and troublesome in *Spaine*; and in *Murria* it is the coolest and healthfullest that is, for that it passeth by the Orchards, and that large champaine which wee see very fresh. In *Carthagene* which is not farre from thence, the same winde is troublesome and vnholesome. The meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and those of the Mediterranean sea, *Mezo giorno*) commonly is raynie and boisterous, and in the same Citie wherof I speake, it is wholesome and pleasant. *Plinie* reports that in *Affricke* it raines with a Northerne winde, and that the Southerne winde is cleere. Hee then that shall well consider what I have spoken of these windes, hee may conceive, that in a smal distance of land or sea, one winde hath many and diverse qualities, yea sometimes quite contrary; whereby we may inferre, that he draweth his property from the place where it passeth, the which is in such sort true (although we may not say infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cause of the diversitie of the windes. It is a thing we easely finde, that in a river containing fiftie leagues in circuite (I putte it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one parte, is hote and moist; and that which blowes on the other, is colde and drie: Notwithstanding this

diver-

diverſitie is not found in places by which it paſſeth, the which makes mee rather to ſay, that the windes bring theſe qualities with them, whereby they give vnto them the names of theſe qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwiſe called *Cierco*, the property to be colde and drie, and to diſſolve miſts; to the Southerne winde his contrary called *Leveſche*, wee attribute the contrary qualitie, which is moiſt and hote, and ingenders miſts. This being generall and common, we muſt ſeeke out another vniverſall cauſe, to give a reaſon of theſe effects. It is not enough to ſay, that the places by which they paſſe, give them theſe qualities, ſeeing that paſſing by the ſame places we ſee contrary effects. So as we muſt of force confeſſe, that the region of the heaven where they blowe, gives them theſe qualities; as the Septentrionall is colde, becauſe it commes from the North, which is the region fartheſt from the Sunne. The Southerne which blows from the Midday or South, is hote, and for that the heate drawes the vapours, it is alſo moiſt and raynie: and contrariwiſe the north is drie and ſubtile, for that it ſuffereth no vapours to congeale. And in this maner wee may diſcourſe of other windes, giving them the qualities of the region where they blowe. But looking more preciſely into it, this reaſon can not ſatisfie me: I will therefore demaund, What doth the region of the aire by which they paſſe, if it doth not give them their qualities? I ſpeake it, for that in *Germanie* the Southerne winde is hote and moiſt, and in *Affrike* the Northerne is cold and drie. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certaine, that in what region ſoever of *Germanie* the Southerne winde is ingendred, it muſt needes be more cold then any part of *Affrike* where the Northerne is ingendred.

And

And if it be so, why is the Northerne winde more cold in *Affrike* then the Southerne in *Germany*, seeing it proceeds from a hotter region? Some may answer me that the reason is, for that it blowes from the North, which is colde; but this is neither sufficient, nor true: for if it were so, whenas the Northerne winde blowes in *Affrike*, it should also runne and continue his motion in al the Region, even vnto the North, the which is not so: For at one instant there blowe Northerne windes very colde, in countries that are in fewer degrees; and Southerne winds which are very hotte, in countries lying in more degrees, the which is most certaine, vsuall, and well knowne. Whereby (in my opinion) wee may inferre that it is no pertinent reason to say, that the places by which the winds do passe give them their qualities, or that they be diversified for that they blowe from divers regions of the ayre, although the one and the other have some reason, as I have said. But it is needefull to seeke further, to knowe the true and originall cause of these so strange differences which we see in the windes. I cannot conceive any other, but that the same efficient cause which bringeth foorth and maketh the winds to grow, dooth withall give them this originall qualitie: for in trueth the matter whereon the windes are made, which is no other thing (according to *Aristotle*) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cause in effect a great parte of this diversitie, being more grosse, more subtile, more drie, and more moist. But yet this is no pertinent reason, seeing that we see in one region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one sorte and qualitie, that there rise windes and effectes quite contrary. We must therefore referre the cause to the higher and celestiall efficient, which must be the Sunne, and

to

to the motion and influence of the heavens, the which by their contrary motions, give and cause divers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mighty, and of so great force, as the holie Prophet *David* in his propheticall Spirite, and the Prophet *Ieremie* admiring the greatnes of the Lorde speake thus, *Qui profert ventos de thesauris suis*: He that drawes the windes out of his treasures. In trueth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holdes them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them foorth for the good or chastisement of men, and sends foorth such windes as hee pleaseth: not as that *Eolus* whome the Poets doe fooliſhly faine to have charge of the winds, keeping them in a cave like vnto wild beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neyther do we know how long they shal continue, or whither they shall goe. But we see and know well the diverse effects and operations they have, even as the supreame trueth, the Author of all things hath taught vs, saying, *Spiritus vbi vult spirat, & vocem eius audis, & nescis vnde venit, aut quo vadit.* The spirit or winde blowes where it pleaseth, and although thou feelest the breath, yet dooſt thou not knowe whence it commeth, nor whither it shall goe: To teach vs, that conceiving a little of matters which are present & common vnto vs, wee should not presume to vnderstand that which is so high and so hidden, as the causes and motives of the Holy-ghost. It is therefore sufficient that wee knowe his operations and effectes, the which are plainely discovered in his greatnes and perfections, and to have treated a litle philosophically of the windes, and the causes of their differences,

Psalme 134. *Ieremy.* 10.

ferences, properties, and operations, which wee have produced into three; the place by which they passe, the regions where they blowe, and the celestiall virtue, the beginning and motive of the windes.

Of certaine properties of windes which blowe at the new worlde. CHAP. 3.

IT is a question much disputed by *Aristotle*, whether the Southerne winde, which we call *Abreguo*, blowes from the pole Antartike, or onely from the Equinoctiall line? which is properly to demaund, if beyond the Equinoctiall it holde the same qualitie of hote and rainie, as we see here. It is a point whereof we may with reason stand in doubt, for although it passe the Equinoctiall, yet is it still the Southerne wind, seeing it comes from the same parte of the worlde; as the Northerne winde which comes to the contrary, continues stil the same winde, although it passe the burning Zone and Equinoctiall line. And it seemes hereby, that these two windes should hold their first properties, the one to be hote and moist, the other colde and drie; the South to breede mists and raine, and the North to disperse them, and to make a cleere Skie. Notwithstanding *Aristotle* leanes to the contrary opinion, for that in *Europe* the Northerne winde is colde, because it comes from the Pole, a region extreamely colde, and the Southerne winde contrariwise is hotte, because it comes from the South, which is the region the Sunne dooth most heate. By this reason then we should believe that the South winde should be colde to them that inhabite on the other side of the line, and the Northerne wind

should

ſhould be hote, for in thoſe partes the Southerne wind comes from the Pole, & the Northerne from the Line. And though it ſeemes by this reaſon, that the Southern winde ſhould be more colde there, than the Northern is heere: for that they holde the region of the South Pole to be more colde then that of the North, by reaſon that the Sunne ſtayeth ſeaven dayes every yeere in the Tropike of *Cancer*, more then it dooth in the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, as it appeareth by the Equinoxes and Solſtices he makes in the two Circles, wherein it ſeemeth, that Nature would ſhew the preheminence and excellencie of this moity of the worlde, which is in the North, above the other parte in the South: ſo as it ſeemeth there is reaſon to beleeve that theſe qualities of the windes doe change in paſſing the Line; but in trueth it is not ſo, as I could comprehend by the experience I had ſome yeeres, being in thoſe partes of the *Indies*, which lie on the South of the other ſide of the Line.

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not vſually colde and cleere there as heere. In ſome parts of *Peru*, as at *Lima*, and on the Plaines, they find the Northern windes troubleſome and vnwholeſome, and all along the coaſt, which runs above five hundred leagues, they holde the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) moſt cleere and pleaſant; yea it never raines, contrary to that wee ſee in *Europe*, and of this ſide the Line. Yet that which chaunceth vpon the coaſt of *Peru* is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature, neuer to raine vpon that coaſt, and ever to have one winde, without giving place to his contrary, whereof we will heereafter ſpeake our minde.

Now

Now let vs ſtand vpon this point, that the Northerne winde beyond the line, hath not the ſame properties, which the Southerne winde hath on this ſide, although they both blow from the midday, to regions and parts of the world which be oppoſite and contrarie. For it is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hote nor rainie there, as the South winde is on this ſide; but contrariwiſe, it raines whenas the South winde blowes there, as we ſee in all the *Sierre* or mountaine of *Peru*, in *Chile*, and in the Countrie of *Congo*, which is on the other ſide of the line, and farre advanced into the Sea. And in *Potozi* likewiſe, the winde which they call *Tomahani*, (which is our North,) if my memorie faile me not, is extreamely cold, drie, and vnpleaſant, as it is heere with vs. Yet doth not the Northerne winde diſperſe the cloudes vſually there, as it doth heere: but contrariwiſe, if I be not deceived, it doth often cauſe raine. There is no doubt, but the windes do borrow this great diverſitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they paſſe, and the neere regions where they are bred, as we ſee by daily experience in a thouſand places. But ſpeaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we muſt rather looke to the coaſtes or partes of the world from whence they proceede, then to obſerve, whether they be on this ſide, or beyond the line, as it ſeemes the Philoſopher held opinion. Theſe capitall windes, which be the Eaſt, and Weſt, have no ſuch vniverſall qualities, nor ſo common in this continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The *Solanus* or Eaſterne winde, is commonly here trobleſome & vnholſome, & the Weſterne or *Zephirus*, is more milde and healthfull. At the *Indies*, and in all the burning Zone, the Eaſterne winde

which

which they call *Brise*, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldome in the burning Zone, for in all the navigation betwixt the two Tropikes, the Easterne winde is ordinary. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall be good to vnderstand the cause and the beginning thereof.

That the burning Zone, the Brises, or Easterly windes, do continually blowe, and without the Zone the westerne, and that the Easterly are ordinarie alwaies there. CHAP. 4.

THe waies at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they passe. It is all one way (saieth the Philosopher) from *Athens* to *Thebes*, and from *Thebes* to *Athens*; but it is not so at Sea, for we go one way, and returne by another. The first which discovered the East and weast *Indies*, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, vntill that Experience (the mistris of these secrets,) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in *Italie*, through the Mediterranean sea, where in their returne, they observe the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefite of the winde, which changeth instantly, and when that failes, they have recourse to their owers; and so the Gallies go and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some partes of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to

Iuan. de Gaeos in Decade, 1. li. 4. ca. 6.

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go by, is not fit to returne with: for in the sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which region, there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone, (being the greatest of the five, into the which the world is divided,) the Easterly windes (which they call *Brises*) do raine, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne, (which they call lower windes,) to have their course at any season of the yeere: The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes never cease to blow, and most commonly in places neerest to the line, (where it seemes that calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the world, most subiect ro the heate of the Sunne, but it is contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath been found true in all the navigations of the *Indies*. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from *Spaine* to the West *Indies* is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to *Spaine*. The fleetes parting from *Siville*, have more difficultie to passe the *Canaries*, for that the gulph of *Yegues* or of *Mares*, is variable, being beaten with divers windes, but having passed the Canaries, they saile with a westerne winde vntill they come to the burning Zone, where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they have scant any neede to touch their sailes in the whole voiage: for this reason they called this great gulph, the gulph of *Dances* for the calmenes and pleasantnes thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of *Guadelupe Dominique*, *Desiree*, *Marigualante*, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the suburbs of the *Indies*. There the fleetes sepe-

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rate and divide themselves, whereof some (which go to new *Spaine*,) take to the right hand towards *Hispaniola*; and having discovered Cape S. *Anthonie*, they passe vnto S. *Ihon Delua*, alwaies vsing the same Easterly windes. Those for the maine Land, take the left hand, discovering the high mountaine of *Tayrone*, then having touched at *Carthagene*, they passe vnto *Nombre de Dios*, from whence they go by land to *Panama*, and from thence, by the South sea to *Peru*. But when the fleetes returne to *Spaine*, they make their voiage in this sort: The fleete of *Peru* discovers Cape S. *Anthonie*, then they enter into the *Havana*, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of *Cuba*. The fleete of new *Spaine*, doth likewise touch at the *Havana*, being parted from the true Crosse, or from the Iland of S. *Ihon Delua*, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to go to the *Havana*. These fleetes being ioyned together for *Spaine*, they seeke their height without the Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly winds, which serve them vntill they come in view of the *Acores*, or *Terceres*, and from thence to *Seville*. So as their voiage in going, is of a small height, not above twentie degrees from the line, which is within the Tropickes. But the returne is without the Tropickes, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropickes, the Easterne winds continually blow, the which are fittest to go from, *Spaine* to the West *Indies*, for that their course is, from East to west; and without the Tropickes, (which is in three and twentie degrees of height,) they finde westerly winds, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the line, and more fit to returne

from the *Indies*; for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serve to runne into the East and North. The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South sea, going from new *Spaine*, or *Peru*, to the *Philippines* or *China*, and returning from the *Philippines* or *China* to new *Spaine*, the which is easie, for that they saile alwaies from East to West, neere the line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their poope. In the yeere 1584. there went a shippe from *Callao* in *Lima* to the *Philippines*, which sailed 2000. and 700. leagues without sight of land, and the first it discovered, was the Iland of *Lusson*, where they tooke port, having performed their voiage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually vnder the line; for that from *Lima* (which is twelve degrees to the South) he came to *Menilla*, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had *Alvaro de Mandana*, whenas he went to discover the Ilands of *Soloman*, for that he had alwaies a full gale, vntill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must be distant from that place of *Peru*, from whence he parted, about a thousand leagues, having runne their course alwaies in one height to the South. The returne is like vnto the voiage from the *Indies* vnto *Spaine*: for those which returne from the *Philippines* or *China* to *Mexico*, to the end they may recover the Westerne windes, they mount a great height, vntill they come right against the Ilands of *Iappon*, and discovering the *Caliphornes*, they returne by the coast of new *Spaine*, to the Port of *Acapulco*, from whence they parted. So as it is proved likewise by this navigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropickes, for that their

Easterly

Easterly windes do raine: but returning from West to East, they must seeke the Westerne windes without the Tropickes, in the height of seven and twentie degrees. The Portingales prove the like in their navigations to the East *Indies*, although it be in a contrarie course; for that going from *Portugall* the voiage is troublesome, but their returne is more easie, for that in going, their course is from the West to the East: so as they must of necessitie mount, vntill they have found their generall windes, which they hold to be above the seven and twentith degree. And in their returne, they discover the *Terceres*, but with more ease, for that they come from the East, where the Easterly or Northerne windes do serve them. Finally, the Marriners hold it for a certaine rule and observation, that within the Tropickes continually raine Easterly windes, and therefore it is very easie to saile to the West. But without the Tropickes, there are in some seasons Easterly windes, and in some, and more ordinarie Westerne windes: by reason whereof, they which saile from West to East, labour alwaies to be out of of the burning Zone, to put themselves in the height of seven and twentie degrees. And for this reason, men have indangered themselves to vndertake strange Navigations, and to seeke out farre Countries vnknowne.

Of the differences of the Brises or Easterne windes, and the Westerne, and likewise of other windes.

Chap. 5.

ALthough that which we have spoken, be generall and well approoved, yet there remaines still a desire in me to learne the cause of this secret; why vnder

the burning Zone we saile alwaies from East to Weast, with so great facilitie, and not from Weast to East? Which is as much as if wee should demaund, why the Easterly windes raine there, and not the Weasterly, for that according to good Philosophie, that which is perpetuall, vniversall, and of it selfe (as the Philosophers say) must have a proper cause, and of it selfe. But before I stay at this question, which seemes remarkeable, it shal be necessary to shew what we vnderstand by *Briſes* or Easterly windes, and Weasterly, for that it will serve much for this subiect, and for many other matters touching windes and navigations. The Pilotes make two and thirty poynts of windes, for that to bring their ship to the desired haven, they must make their account as punctually and as strictly as they can; for bending to the one side, or the other, never so little, in the end of their course, they should finde themselves farre from their pretended place. And they reckon but twoo and thirty quarters of the windes, for that more woulde confound the memorie. But with reckoning as they accompt two and thirty windes, so may they reckon, three score and foure, one hundred twenty and eight, and two hundred fifty and six. Finally, multiply these partes to an infinite, for the place where the shippe is, being as it were the centre, and all hemisphere in circumference, what should let, but wee may accompt lines without number, the which comming from this centre, drawe directly to these lineall circles in so many partes, which might cause as many diverse windes, seeing that the winde comes from all partes of the hemisphere, which we may divide into as many parts as we will imagine, yet the wisedome of man, conformable to the holy Scripture, obserues foure windes, the princi-

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pall of all others, and as it were the foure corners of the worlde, the which they ioyne in making a crosse with two lines, whereof the one goes from one Pole to another; and the other from one Equinoctiall to the other. Of the one side the North or *Aquilon*, and the Southerne winde or mid-day opposite; and on the other side the East, which comes from the Sunne rising, and the Weast from his setting. And although the holy Scripture in some places speakes of other diversities of windes, as of *Eurus* and *Aquilon*, which those in the Ocean sea call *Nordest*, & they of the mediterranean sea, *Gregual*, whereof there is mention made in Saint *Pauls* navigation; yet the same holy Scripture makes mention of those foure notable windes, which all the worlde knowes, which are as is saide, North, South, East and Weast.

But for that we finde three differences in the rising of the Sunne, from whence the name of East comes, that is, the two greatest declinings which he doth vsually make, and the meane betwixt them both, as hee dooth rise in diverse places, in winter, in summer, and in that which holdes the middle of these two seasons. For this reason they have reckoned two other windes, the East of summer, and the East of winter; and by consequence, two Weasts, the one of summer, and the other of winter, their contraries. So as there are eight windes in eight notable poyntes of heaven, which are the two Poles, the two Equinoxes, the two Solstices, and their opposites in the same Circle, the which are called by divers names and appellations in every place of the sea and land. Those which saile the Ocean, doe vsually call them thus. They give the name of North to those windes that blowe from our Pole, which carri-

eth the same name, and Northeast that which is neereſt, and comes from the ſummer East: They call East that which comes directly from the riſing Equinoctiall, and Southeast that which comes from the winter riſing. To the Mid-day or Pole Antartike they give the name of Southweſt; and to that of the winters ſetting, the name of Southweſt, to the right ſetting Equinoctiall the name of Weſt, and to the ſummers ſetting, Northweast. They divide amongſt them the reſt of the winds, and give them their names as they participate and approach to others: as North-northweast, North-northeast, East-northeast, East-ſoutheast, South-ſouthweast, Weast-ſouthweſt, Weast-norweſt; ſo as by their names we know whence they proceed. In the Mediterranean ſea, although they follow the ſame diviſion and maner of reckoning, yet doe they give them other different names; they call the North *Tramontana*, and his contrary, the South *Mezo-giorno*, or *Mydy*; the East they call *Levant*, and the Weast *Povant*: and thoſe which croſſe theſe foure they call thus: Southeast is by them named *Xirocque*, or *Xaloque*, and his oppoſite, which is Norweſt; *Meſtrall* they call the northeast. *Grec* or *Greguall*; and the Southweast his contrary; *Leveſche*; *Libique*, or *Affricaine*. In Latine the foure knowne winds be, *Septentrio*, *Auſter*, *Subſolanus*, *Favonius*; and thoſe which be interlaced are *Aquilo*, *Vulturnus*, *Affricus* and *Corus*; according vnto *Plinie*, *Vulturnus* and *Eurus*, is the ſame winde that Southeast or *Xaloque*, *Favonius* is the Weaſt or *Ponent*, *Aquilo* and *Boreas* is *Norteſt* or *Gregual*, or *Tramontana*, *Affricus* and *Libique* is the Southweaſt or *Leveſche*, *Auſter* and *Notus* is the South or Midday, *Corus* and *Zephirus* the Northweſt or *Meſtral*, and to the Northeast or *Gregual*, they give no ôther

name

name then *Phenicien*. Some divide them after an other maner: but for that it is not now our purpose to repeate the Latine and Greeke names of all the windes, lette vs onely shew which be those amongst these windes, that the Mariners of the Indian Ocean call *Brises*, and lower winds. I was long in some difficulty about these names, seeing them to vse them very diversly, vntill I found that these names were more generall, then proper and peculiar. They call *Brises* those which serve to goe to the *Indies*, the which blowe in their poope, which by this meanes comprehend all the Easterly windes, and those which depend of them. And they do call lower windes those which are fitte to returne from the *Indies*, which blowe from the South to the summer-weast, so as they be, as it were, two Esquadrons of windes of eyther side, the Corporalles be of one side Northeast or *Greguall*, on the other Southweast or *Leveschе*. But you must vnderstand, that of the number of eight windes and differences which we have counted, five are proper to saile by, and not the other three. I say, that when a ship sailes at sea, he may make a long voyage with one of these windes, although they serve him not equally; but he cannot vse any of the other three. As if a shippe goe to the South, he shall saile with the North, Northeast, Northweast, and with East and Weast: for side-windes serve to goe, or to come. But with a Southerne wind he cannot saile, being directly contrary, nor with with his two Collaterals which is Southest and Southweast, which is a very triviall thing, & common to them that saile. And therefore it is not needefull to explaine them heere, but to signifie that the side-windes of the right East, are those which commonly blow to the burning Zone, which they doe call *Brises*: and those from

the South declining to the Weast, which serve to saile from Weast to East, are not common in the burning Zone, and therefore they seeke them without the tropikes; and the Indian Mariners commonly call them lower windes, or *Vents dábas.*

What is the reason why sailing vnder the burning Zone, we finde alwayes Easterly windes? CHAP. 6.

LEt vs now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason whie vnder the burning Zone wee saile easily from East to Weast, and not contrary: wherein we must presuppose two certaine groundes. The one is, that the motion of the first moover, which they call Diurnall, not onelie drawes and mooves with him the celestiall spheares, which are inferiour vnto him, as wee see daily in the sunne, the moone, and the starres, but also the Elements do participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The earth is not mooved, by reason of her heavinesse, which makes it immooveable, being far from this first motor. The element of water moves not likewise with this Diurnall motion, for that it is vnited to the earth and make one sphere, so as the earth keeps it from all circular motion. But th'other two elements of fire & aire, are more subtil and neerer the heavenly regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driven about circularly, as the same celestial bodies. As for the fire, without doubt it hath his sphere, (as *Aristotle* and other Philosophers have held) but for the aire (which is no point of our subiect) it is most certaine that it mooves with a motion diurnall, which is

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from East to Weast, which we see plainely in Comets that moove from the East vnto the Weast, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the hemispheare in the same sort as the Starres move in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region & sphere of the aire, whereas they ingender, appeares consum'd. It should be impossible for them to moove circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not moove with the same motion that the first motor dooth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt, without mooving circularly, if the sphere where they are did not moove; if it be not as we faine, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirite dooth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred seaventy and seaven appeered that wonderfull Comet, (in forme like vnto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heaven, and continued from the first of November, vntill the eight of December: I say from the first of November, for although in *Spaine* it was noted but the ninth of November (according to the testimony of Writers of that time) yet at *Peru*, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and observe it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diversity, some may dilate vpon it particularly, I will onely shew, that during those fourtie dayes which it continued, we all observed (both such as were in *Spaine*, and we that lived then at the *Indies*) that it mooved daily with an vniversall motion, from East to Weast, as the Moone and other Planets, wherby it appeeres that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessitie moove after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this vni-

versal

verſall motion, it had an other particular, by which it moved with the planets fro weſt to eaſt; for every night it turned more Eaſtward, like vnto the Moone, Sunne, and Planet of *Venus*. Wee did alſo obſerve a third particular motion, whereby it mooved from the zodiacke towards the North; for after ſome nights it was found neerer vnto the Septentrionall ſignes. And it may be this was the reaſon why the great Comet was ſooner ſeene by thoſe that were ſoutherly, as at *Peru*, and later diſcovered by them of *Europe*: for by this third motion (as I have ſaide) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet every one may well obſerve the differences of this motion, ſo as wee may well perceive, that many and ſundry celeſtiall bodies, give their impreſſions to the ſphere of the aire. In like ſorte it is moſt certaine that the ayre mooves with the circular motion of the heaven, from Eſt to Weſt, which is the firſt ground before mentioned. The ſecond is no leſſe certaine, the which is, that the motion of the aire in thoſe parts that are vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, is very ſwift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approching neere the Poles, the more ſlowe and heavie this motion is. The reaſon heereof is manifeſt, for that the mooving of the celeſtiall bodies, being the efficient cauſe of the mooving of the ayre, it muſt of neceſſitie be more quicke and light, where the celeſtiall bodies have their ſwifteſt motion.

To labour to ſhew the reaſon why the heaven hath a quicker motion vnder the burning Zone, which is the Line, then in any other part of the heaven, were to make ſmall account of men: ſeeing it is eaſie to ſee in a wheele, that its motion is more ſlowe and heavy in the

part

part of greateſt circumference, then in the leſſe, and that the greater circumference ends at one inſtant with the leſſer. From theſe two grounds proceedes the reaſon, where ſuch as ſaile great gulphs from eaſt to weſt, doe alwayes finde the winde in their powpe, going in a ſmall altitude, and the neerer they come to the Equinoctiall, the more certaine and durable the winde is. And contrariwiſe, ſailing from weſt to eaſt, they always finde the winde contrary; for that the ſwift motion of the Equinoctiall drawes after it the element of the aire, as it doth the ſurplus of the higher ſpheares. So as the aire dooth alwayes follow the motion of the day. Going from eaſt to weaſt, without any alteration, and the motion of the aire being ſwift, draweth after it all the vapours and exhalations which riſe from the ſea, which cauſeth in thoſe Regions a continuall eaſterly winde, which runnes from the *Levant*. Father *Alonſo Sanches* a religious man, and of our company, who hath travelled the eaſt and weſt *Indies*, as a man ingenious, and of experience, ſaid, that ſailing vnder the Line, or neere vnto it, with a continued and durable ſeaſon, it ſeemed to him to be the ſame aire, mooved by the heaven the which guided the ſhips, and was not properly a winde nor exhalation, but an aire moved with the daily courſe of the ſunne: for proofe whereof he ſhewed, that the ſeaſon is alwayes equall, and alike at the gulph of *Danees*: and in other great gulphes where wee ſaile vnder the burning Zone, by reaſon whereof their ſailes are always of one faſhion, without any bluſtring, having no neede, in a manner, to change them in all their courſe. And if the ayre were not mooved by the heavens, it might ſometimes faile, ſometimes change to the contrary, and ſometimes there would grow ſome ſtormes.

Although

Although this be learnedly ſpoken, yet can we not deny it to be a winde, ſeeing there are vapours and exhalations of the ſea; and that we ſometimes ſee the *Briſe* or eaſterly winds ſtronger, ſometimes more weake, and placed in that ſort, as ſometimes they can hardly carry all their ſailes. We muſt then know (and it is true) that the aire mooved, draweth vnto it the vapours it findes; for that the force is great, and findes no reſiſtance, by reaſon whereof the eaſterne and weaſterne windes are continuall, and in a maner alwayes alike, in thoſe parts which are neere the Line, and almoſt vnder all the burning zone, which is the courſe the Sunne followes betwixt the two circles of *Cancer* and *Capricorne*.

Why without the Zone, in a greater altitude, wee finde alwayes weſterly windes. CHAP. 7.

WHoſo would neerely looke into what hath bin ſpoken, may likewiſe vnderſtand, that going from the weſt to the eaſt, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we ſhall finde weſterne windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being ſo ſwift, it is a cauſe that the ayre mooveth vnder it according to this motion, which is from eaſt to weaſt, drawing after it the vapors and exhalations that riſe of either ſide the Equinoctial or burning zone, incountring the courſe and motion of the zone, are forced by the repercuſſion to returne almoſt to the contrary, whence growe the ſouthweaſt winds ſo ordinary in thoſe parts. Even as we ſee in the courſe of waters, the which (if they be incountred by others of more force,) returne in a maner backe. So it ſeemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby growes

it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselves from one part to another. These westerly winds do commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seeven to thirty and seven degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the *Brises* that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the southwest windes are no causes of this proper and equal motion of the heaven, as the *Brises* are, being neere to the Line. But (as I have said) they are more ordinarie, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at sea as at land; for sometimes the east or north winde blowes, and sometimes the south, or weast: whereby it happeneth their navigations are more vncertaine, and more dangerous.

Of the exceptions to the foresaid Rules, and of the Windes and Calmes both at Land and at Sea. Chap. 8.

THat which we have spoken of winds, which blow ordinarilie within and without the Zone, must be vnderstood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequalitie which is betwixt the mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Rivers and Lakes, and the divers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thicke vapors arise, which are moved from the one part or the other, according to the diversitie of their beginnings, which cause these divers windes the motion of the aire, caused by the heaven having not power enough, to draw and move them with it. And this varietie of windes is

not

not onely found at land, but also vpon the sea coast, which is vnder the burning Zone, for that there be foraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the sea; the which windes from the sea, are commonly more wholesome and more pleasant then those of the land, which are contrariwise troublesome and vnwholesome, although it be the differrence of the coast that causeth this diversitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the sunne rising, and the sea windes vntill sunne setting. The reason perhaps may be, that the earth, as a grosse substance, fumes more whenas the sunne shines not vpon it, even as greene wood, or scarce drie, smoakes most when the flame is quenched. But the sea, which is compounded of more subtile partes, engenders no fumes, but when it is hote, even as straw or haie, being moist and in small quantitie, breedes smoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume suddenly ceaseth. Whatsoever it be, it is certaine that the land winde blowes by night, and that of the sea by day. So that even as there are often contrarie, violent, and tempestuous windes vpon the sea coast, so do we see very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that having sailed many great passages at sea vnder the line, yet did they never see any calmes, but that they alwaies make way little or much, the aire being moved by the celestiall motion, which is sufficient to guide a ship, blowing in poope, as it doth. I have already said, that a ship of *Lima* going to *Manilla*, sailed two thousand seven hundred leagues, alwaies vnder the line, or not above twelve degrees from it, and that in the moneths of Februarie and March, whenas the sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this space they found no

calmes

calmes, but alwaies a freſh gale, ſo as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you ſhall vſually ſee great calmes vpon the coaſtes, where the vapors come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore ſtormes and tempeſtes, and the ſuddaine motions of the aire, are more certaine and ordinarie vpon the coaſtes, whereas the vapors come from the land, then in full ſea, I meane vnder the burning Zone, for without it and at ſea, there are both calmes and whirlewindes. Notwithſtanding, ſometimes betwixt the two Tropickes, yea, vnder the line, you ſhall have great raine and ſuddaine ſhowers, yea, farre into the ſea; for the working whereof, the vapors and exhalations of the ſea, are ſufficient, which moving ſometimes haſtily in the aire, cauſe thunder and whirlewindes, but this is more ordinarie neere to the land, and vpon the land. When I ſailed from *Peru* to new *Spaine*, I obſerved, that all the time we were vpon the coaſt of *Peru*, our voiage was (as it was ordinary,) very calme and eaſie, by reaſon of the Southerne winde that blowes, having alwaies a fore winde, returning from *Spaine* and new *Spaine*. As we paſſed the gulph, lanching farther into the ſea, almoſt vnder the line, we found the ſeaſon coole, quiet, and pleaſant, with a full winde, but comming neere to *Nicaragua*, and to all that coaſt, we had contrarie windes, with great ſtore of raine and fogges. All this navigation was vnder the burning Zone: for from twelve degrees to the South, which is *Lima*, wee ſailed to the ſeventeenth, which is *Gautulco*, a port of new *Spaine*: and I beleeve, that ſuch as have obſerved their navigations, made vnder the burning Zone, ſhall finde what I have ſaid, which may ſuffice for the windes which raine at ſea, vnder the burning Zone.

Of

Of some merveilous effects of the windes, which are in some partes of the Indies. CHAP. 9.

IT were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effectes which some windes cause in divers regions of the world, and to give a reason thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Cristall, some comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heavines. Such as nourish silke-wormes, have great care to shut their windowes, when as the South-west windes do blow, and to open them to the contrarie: having found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminish and die with the one, and fatten and become better with the other; and who so will neerely observe it, shall finde in himselfe, that the diversities of windes, cause notable impressions and changes in the bodie, principally in sicke partes and ill disposed, when they are most tender and weake. The holy scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dew and sweetnes. And it is no wonder if wee see such notable effects of the windes, in plants, beasts, and men, seeing that we see it visibly in yron, which is the hardest of all mettalls. I have seene grates of yron in some partes of the *Indies*, so rusted and consumed, that pressing it betwixt your fingers, it dissolved into powder, as if it had been hay or parched straw, the which proceedes only from the winde which doth corrupt it, having no meanes to withstand it. But leaving apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it causeth pangs grater then death it selfe, yet doth it not

Ex.c.10.& 14
Iob.17.
Ioan.4.
Osee.13.
Dan.3.

breede

breede any further inconvenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The ſicknes of the ſea, wherewith ſuch are troubled as firſt begin to go to ſea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were vnknowne to men, we ſhould take it for the pangs of death; ſeeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth laſt, by the caſting of the ſtomacke, paine of the head, and other troubleſome accidents. But in trueth this ſicknes ſo common and ordinarie, happens vnto men by the change of the aire and ſea. For although it be true that the motion of the ſhippe helpes much, in that it moves more or leſſe: and likewiſe the infections and ill ſavors of things in the ſhippe: yet the proper and naturall cauſe, is the aire and the vapors of the ſea, the which doth ſo weaken and trouble the body and the ſtomacke, which are not accuſtomed therevnto, that they are wonderfully moved and changed: for the aire is the Element, by which wee live and breathe, drawing it into our entrailes, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo great force doth alter vs, as the change of the aire we breathe, as we ſee in thoſe which die of the plague. It is approved by many experiences, that the aire of the ſea, is the chiefe cauſe of this ſtrange indiſpoſition; the one is, that when there blowes from the ſea a ſtrong breath, we ſee them at the land as it were ſea-ſicke, as I my ſelfe have often found. Another is, the farther we go into the ſea, and retyre from land, the more we are touched and dazeled with this ſicknes. Another is, that coaſting along any Iland, and after lanching into the maine, we ſhall there finde the aire more ſtrong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cauſe this ſicknes, ſeeing that

we see some are taken therewith passing rivers in Barkes: others in like sort going in Coches and Carosses, according to the divers complexions of the stomacke: as contrariwise, there are some, how boistrous and troublesome soever the sea be, doe never feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, & tried, that the aire of the sea, doth commonly cause this effect in such as newly go to sea. I thought good to speake this, to shew a strange effect, which happens in some partes of the *Indies*, where the ayre & the wind that rains make men dazie, not lesse, but more then at sea. Some hold it for a fable, others say it is an addition: for my part I will speake what I have tried. There is in *Peru*, a high mountaine which they call *Pariacaca*, and having heard speake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could. according to the instructions which was given me, by such as they call *Vaguianos* or expert men: but notwithstanding all my provision, when I came to mount the degrees, as they call them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was suddenly surprized with so mortall and strange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet every one made haste (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himselfe speedily from this ill passage. Being then alone with one Indian, whom I intreated to helpe to stay me, I was surprised with such pangs of straining & casting, as I thought to cast vp my heart too; for having cast vp meate, fleugme, & choller, both yellow and greene; in the end I cast vp blood, with the straining of my stomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I should vndoubtedly have died; but this lasted not above three or foure houres, that we were come into a more convenient and naturall tempe-

rature,

rature, where all our companions (being fouteteene or fifteene) were much wearied. Some in the paſſage demaunded confeſſion, thinking verily to die; others left the ladders and went to the ground, beeing overcome with caſting, and going to the ſtoole: and it was tolde me, that ſome have loſt their lives there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himſelfe againſt the earth, crying out for the rage and griefe which this paſſage of *Pariacaca* hadde cauſed. But commonly it dooth no important harme, onely this, paine and troubleſome diſtaſte while it endures: and not onely the paſſage of *Pariacaca* hath this propertie, but alſo all this ridge of the mountaine, which runnes above five hundred leagues long, and in what place ſoever you paſſe, you ſhall finde ſtrange intemperatures, yet more in ſome partes then in other, and rather to thoſe which mount from the ſea, then from the plaines. Beſides *Pariacaca*, I have paſſed it by *Lucanas* and *Soras*; in an other place, by *Colleguas*, and by *Cavanas*. Finally, by foure different places, going and comming, and alwaies in this paſſage I have felt this alteration, although in no place ſo ſtrongly, as at the firſt in *Pariacaca*, which hath beene tried by all ſuch as have paſſed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cauſe of this intemperature and ſtrange alteration, or the aire that raignes there. For the beſt remedy (and all they finde) is to ſtoppe their noſes, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to cover themſelves with cloathes, eſpecially the ſtomacke, for that the ayre is ſubtile and piercing, going into the entrailes, and not onely men feele this alteration, but alſo beaſts that ſometimes ſtay there, ſo as there is no ſpurre can make them goe forward. For my part I holde this place to be one of the higheſt parts of land

in the worlde; for we mount a wonderfull space. And in my opinion, the mountaine *Nevade* of *Spaine*, the *Pirenees*, and the *Alpes* of *Italie*, are as ordinarie houses, in regarde of hie Towers. I therefore perswade my selfe, that the element of the aire is there so subtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breathing of man, which requires a more grosse and temperate aire, and I beleeve it is the cause that doth so much alter the stomacke, & trouble all the disposition. The passages of the mountaines *Nevade*, and other of *Europe*, which I have seene, although the aire be colde there, and doth force men to weare more clothes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrarit wise it provokes; neyther dooth it cause any casting of the stomacke, but onely some paine in the feete and handes. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the *Indies*, whereof I speake (without molesting of foote or hand, or any outward parte) troubles all the entrailes within: and that which is more admirable, when the sunne is hote, which maketh mee imagine, that the griefe wee feele comes from the qualitie of the aire which wee breathe: Therefore that is most subtile and delicate, whose colde is not so sensible, as piercing. All this ridge of mountains is, for the most part, desart, without any villages or habitations for men, so as you shall scarce finde any small cotages to lodge such as do passe by night: there are no beasts, good or bad, but some *Vicunos*, which are their countrey muttons, and have a strange and wonderfull property, as I shall shew in his place. The grasse is often burnt, and all blacke with the aire, and this desart runnes five and twenty or thirty leagues overthwart, and in length above five hundred leagues. There are other desarts or places inhabited,

habited, which at *Peru* they call *Punas* (speaking of the second poynt we promised) where the quallitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the Spaniardes went from *Peru*, to the realme of *Chille* by this mountaine, but at this day they do passe commonly by sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great daunger as by the mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men have perished and died, and sometimes have scaped by great happe, whereof some have remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceedes in such sorte, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and handes: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true.

I have knowne and frequented long the Gennerall *Ierome Costilla*, the auntient peopler of *Cusco*, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the desart of *Chille*, being perished with this aire, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, even as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good army which hee had conducted by that place, in the former yeeres, since the discoverie of this kingdome by *Almagro*, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the desart, without any stink or corruption; adding thervnto one thing very strange, that they found a yong boy alive, and being examined how hee had lived in that place, hee saide, that hee laie hidden in a little cave, whence hee came to cutte the flesh of a dead horse with a little knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how

many companions that lived in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, and another to morrow, saying that hee desired nothing more then to die there with the rest, seeing that he found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I have vnderstoode the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a Secular man, had passed by these desarts: and it is a strange thing, the qualitie of this colde aire, which killes, and also preserves the dead bodies without corruption. I have also vnderstoode it of a reverend religious man, of the Order of Saint *Dominike*, and Prelate thereof, who hadde seene it passing by the desarts: and which is strange, hee reported, that travelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde which blowes there (having no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did he sleepe, the dead bodies giving him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of cold so piercing, that it quencheth the vitall heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor give any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moystnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders vnder the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the *Indies*, then in any other Regions, I wil speake thereof in treating the qualities of the land at the *Indies*. We wil content our selves now with what wee have spoken of the wind and aire, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

of

Of the Ocean that invirons the Indies, *and of the North and South Seas.* CHAP. 10.

AMongst all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the *Indies* have beene discovered, and are invironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean sea, or maine land, the which whersoever it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they have not discovered at the *Indies* any mediterranian sea, as in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrike*, into the which there enters some arme of this great sea, and makes distinct seas, taking their names from the Provinces they bathe: and almost all the mediterranean Seas continue and ioyne together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of *Gibraltar*, which the Ancients called, the Pillers of *Hercules*, although the red sea beeing separated from the mediterranean seas, enters alone into the Indian Ocean; and the Caspian sea ioynes not with any other: so that at the *Indies* wee finde not anie other sea then this Ocean, which they divide into two, the one they call the north sea, and the other the south; for that the *Indies* which were first discovered by the Ocean, and reacheth vnto *Spaine*, lies all to the north, and by that land thereafter discovered a sea on the other side, the which they called the South sea, for that they decline vntill they have passed the Line: and having lost the North, or Pole articke, they called it South. For this cause they have called all that Ocean the South sea, which lieth on the other side of the East *Indies*, althogh a great part of it be seated to the north, as al the coast of new *Spaine*, *Nuaragna*, *Guatimala* and *Panama*. They say, that hee that first discovered this sea, was called *Blasconunes* of

Bilbo, the which he did by that part which we now call maine land, where it growes narrow, and the two seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seaven leagues of distance: for although they make the way eighteene from *Nombre de Dios*, to *Panama*, yet is it with turning to seeke the commoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some have discourſed and propounded to cut through this passage of seaven leagues, and to ioyne one sea to the other, to make the passage from *Peru* more commodious and easie, for that these eighteene leagues of land betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by sea, wherevpon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the land, one sea being lower then another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gave over the enterprize to win the red sea into *Nile*, in the time of King *Sesostris*, and since, in the Empire of the *Othomans*. But for my part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconvenient should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleeve there is no humaine power able to beat and breake downe those strong and impenetrable mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two seas, and hath made them most hard rockes, to withstand the furie of two seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heaven, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great providence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this vniversall world. Leaving this discourse of opening the land, and ioyning both seas together, there is yet another lesse rash, but very difficult

Herodotus.

Iovius.

cult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulphes do ioyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of *Fernando Magellan* a Portugall gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subiect, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gave the name of eternall memory to this straight, which iustly they call by the name of the discoverer *Magellan*, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some have beleeved, that this Straight which *Magellan* had discovered in the South sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as *Don Alonso d'Arsille* writes in his *Auracane*: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the sea and land, for that the maine land endes there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one sea ioynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in turth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out land on eyther side, although it hath not yet beene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After *Magellan*, a shippe of the Bishoppe of *Plaisance* passed the straight, *Don Guitieres Carvaial*, (whose maste they say is yet at *Lima*, at the entrie of the palace,) they went afterwards coasting along the South, to discover the Straight, by the commandement of *Don Garcia* of *Mendoce*, then governer of *Chille*, according to that which Captaine *Ladrillero* found it and passed it. I have read the discourse and report he made, where he saieth, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the Straight, but having discovered the North sea, he returned back, for the roughnes of the time, winter being now come,

which

which caused the waves comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the sea continually forming with rage. In our time, *Francis Drake* an Englishman, passed this straight. After him, Captaine *Sarmiento* passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other Englishmen passed it, by the instruction of *Drake*, which at this time runne along all the coast of *Peru*. And for that the report which the master Pilot that passed it made, seemeth notable vnto me, I will heere set it downe.

Of the Straight of Magellan, *and how it was passed on the South side.* CHAP. II.

IN the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred seaventy nine, *Francis Drake* having passed the Straights that runne alongest the coast of *Chille*, and all *Peru*, and taken the shippe of Saint *Iean d'Anthona*, where there was a great number of barres of silver, the Viceroy Don *Francis* of *Toledo* armed and sent foorth two good shippes, to discover the Straight, appoynting *Peter Sarmiento* for Captaine, a man learned in Astrologie. They parted from *Callao* of *Lima* in the beginning of October; and forasmuch as vpon that coast there blowes a contrary winde from the South, they tooke the sea, and having sailed litle above thirty days with a favourable winde, they came to the same altitude of the Straight: but for that it was very hard to discover, they approched neere vnto the land, where they entred into a great Bay, in the which there is an Archipelague of Ilands: *Sarimento* grew obstinate, that this was the Straight, and staied a whole moneth to finde it

out,

out, by diuerſe wayes creeping vppe to the high mountaines. But ſeeing they could not diſcouer it, at the inſtance of ſuch as were in the army, they returned to ſea. The ſame day the weather grew rough, with the which they ranne their courſe, in the beginning of the night the Admiralls light failed ſo, as the other ſhippe never ſee them after: The day following, the force of the winde continuing ſtill, being a ſide wind, the Admiralles ſhippe diſcouered an opening, which made land, thinking good to enter there for ſhelter, vntill the tempeſt were paſt. The which ſucceeded in ſuch ſort, as having diſcouered this vent, they found that it ranne more and more into the land; and coniecturing that it ſhould be the Straight which they ſought, they tooke the height of the Sunne, where they found themſelves in fiftie degrees and a halfe, which is the very height of the Straight: and, to be the better aſſured, they thruſt out their Brigandine, which having run many leagues into this arme of the ſea, without ſeeing any end, they found it to be the very Straight. And for that they had order to paſſe it, they planted a hie Croſſe there, with letters thereon, to the end, that if the other ſhip ſhould chance to arriue there, they ſhould haue newes of their Generall, and follow. They paſſed the Straight in a fauourable time without difficultie, and paſſing into the north ſea, they came to certaine vnknowne Ilandes, where they tooke in freſh water, and other refreſhings: From thence they tooke their courſe towardes *Cape de Vert*, from whence the Pilote maior returned to *Peru*, by the way of *Carthagene*, and *Panama*, carrying a diſcourſe of the Straight to the Viceroy, and of all their ſucceſſe, of whom he was well rewarded for his good ſeruice.

But

But Captaine *Peter Sarmiento* sailed from *Cape Vert* to *Seville* in the same ship wherewith he had passed the Straight, and went to Court; where his Maiestie rewarded him; and at his instance, gave commaundement to prepare a great army, which he sent vnder the commaund of *Diego Flores de Valdes*, to people and fortifie this Straight. But this army, after variable successe, spent much, and profited little.

Returning now to the Viceadmiralles shippe, which went in company of the Generall, having lost him in the storme, they tooke the sea, but the wind being contrary and stormy, they looked all to perish, so as they confessed themselves, and prepared for death. This tempest continued three dayes without intermission, and hourely they feared to runne on ground; but it fel out contrary, for they went still from land, vntill the ende of the third day, that the storme ceased, and then taking the height, they found themselves in fiftie sixe degrees: but seeing they had not crossed, and yet were farre from land, they were amazed, whereby they surmized (as *Hernando Lamero* tolde me) that the land which is on the other side of the Straight, as wee goe by the south sea, runnes not the same o romer that it doth to the Straight, but that it turneth to the East: for else it were impossible but they shoulde have touched land, having runne so long time with this crosse winde: but they passed on no further, neyther coulde they discover the lands end (which some holde to be there) whether it were an Iland on the other side of the Straight, where the two seas of North and Sonth doe ioyne together, or that it did runne vppe towardes the East, and ioyne with the land of *Vesta*, as they call it, which answers to the Cape of Good Hope (as it is the opi-

opinion of some.) The trueth hereof is not to this day well knowne, neither is there any one found that hath discovered that land. The Viceroy Don *Martin Henrique* saide vnto me, that he held this report for an invention of the *English*, that the Straight should presentlie make an Iland, and that the two seas did ioyne together; for that (beeing Viceroy of New *Spaine*) hee had diligently examined the Portugall Pilote, who had bin left there by *Francis Drake*, and yet had no knowledge of any such matter by him. But that was a very Straight, and a maine land on either side. Returning then to the saide Viceadmirall, they discovered this Straight (as the saide *Hernando Lamero* reported vnto mee) but by another mouth or entrie, and in a greater height, by reason of a certaine great Iland which is at the entrie of the Straight, which they call, the Bell, for the forme it carries. And (as he saide) hee woulde have passed it: but the Captaine and souldiers woulde not yeelde therevnto, supposing that the time was too farre spent, and that they were in great daunger. And so they returned to *Chille* and *Peru*, without passing it.

Of the Straight which some holde to be in Florida.

Chap. 12.

EVen as *Magellan* found out this Straight vppon the South, so some have pretended to discover another Straight, which they say is in the north, and suppose it to be in *Florida*, whose coast runs in such sort, as they knowe no end thereof. *Peter Melendez* the *Adelantade*, a man very expert at sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a Straight, and that the King had commanded him

him to discover it, wherein he shewed a great desire: he propounded his reasons to proove his opinion, saying, that they have seene some remainders of shippes in the North sea, like vnto those the which the Chinois vse, which had beene impossible, if there were no passage from one sea vnto another. Moreover, he reported, that in a certaine great Bay in *Florida*, (the which runnes 300. leagues within the land,) they see Whales in some season of the yeere, which come from the other sea. Shewing moreover other likelihood, he concludes, that it was a thing agreeing with the wisedome of the Creator, and the goodly order of nature, that as there was communication and a passage betwixt the two seas at the Pole *Antartike*, so there should in like sort, be one at the Pole *Artike*, which is the principall Pole. Some will say, that *Drake* had knowledge of this Straight, and that he gave occasion so to iudge, whenas he passed along the coast of new *Spaine* by the South sea. Yea, they hold opinion, that other Englishmen which this yeere 1587. tooke a shippe comming from the *Philippines*, with great quantitie of gold and other riches, did passe this straight, which prize they made neere to the *Calliphornes*, which course the ships returning from the *Philippines* and *China*, to new *Spaine*, do vsually obserue. They confidently beleeve, that (as the courage of man is great, and his desire infinite, to finde new meanes to inrich himselfe) so within few yeeres this secret will be discovered. And truly, it is a thing worthie admiration, that as the Ants do alwaies follow the trace of other; so men in the knowledge and search of new things, never stay, vntill they have attained the desired end for the content and glorie of men. And the high and eternall wisedome of the

Creator

Creator vseth this curiositie of men, to communicate the light of his holy Gospell to people, that alwaies live in the obscure darkenesse of their errors. But to conclude, the straight of the *Artike* Pole (if there be any) hath not been yet discovered. It shall not therefore be from the purpose, to speake what we know of the particularities of the *Antartike* straight, already discovered and knowne, by the report of such as have seene and observed it.

Of the properties of the Straight of Magellan.
Chap. 13.

THis Straight, as I have said, is iust fiftie degrees to the South, and from one sea to another, fourscore and ten, or a hundred leagues, in the narrowest place, it is a league and little lesse, whert it was intended the King should build a Fort to defend the passage. It is so deepe in some places, that it cannot be founded, and in some places they finde grownd at 18. yea, at 15. fadomes. Of these hundred leagues which it containes in length from one sea vnto the other, it is plainely seene, that the waves of the South sea, runne 30. leagues, and the other 70. are possessed with the billowes and waves of the North sea. But there is this difference, that the 30. leagues to the South, runne betwixt the rockes and most high mountaines, whose tops are continually covered with snow: so as they seeme) by reason of their great height) to be ioyned together, which makes the entrie of the Straight to the South so hard to discover. In these 30. leagues, the sea is very deepe, and without bottome, yet may they fasten their ships

to

to the land, the banckes being straight and vneven; but in the 70. leagues towards the North, they finde ground, and of either side there are large plaines, the which they call *Canànas*. Many great rivers of faire and cleere water runne into this Straight, and thereabout are great and wonderfull forrests, whereas they finde some trees of excellent wood and sweete, the which are not knowne in these partes, whereof such as passed from thence to *Peru*, brought some to shew. There are many medowes within the land, and many Ilands in the midst of the Straight. The Indians that inhabite on the South side, are little, and cowards, those that dwell on the North part, are great and valiant: they brought some into *Spaine*, which they hadde taken. They found peeces of blew cloth, and other markes and signes that some men of *Europe* had passed there. The Indians saluted our men with the name of *Iesus*. They are good Archers, and goe clad in wilde beasts skinnes, whereof there is great aboundance. The waters of the Straight rise and fall as the tide, and they may visibly see the tides come of the one side of the North sea, and of the other from the South whereas they meete, the which (as I have said) is thirtie leagues from the South, and three score and tenne from the North. And although it seemes there should be more daunger then in all the rest, yet whenas Captaine *Sarmiento* his shippe (whereof I spake) passed it, they had no great stormes, but found farre lesse difficultie then they expected: for then the time was very calme and pleasant. And moreover, the waves from the north sea, came broken, by reason of the great length of three score and tenne leagues, and the waves from the south sea were not raging, by reason of the great deapth, in which

which deapth, the waves breake, and are swallowed vp. It is true, that in winter the straight is not navigable, by reason of the tempests and raging of the sea in that season. Some shippes which have attempted to passe the Straight in winter, have perished. One onely shippe passed it on the South side, which is the Captaine I made mention of. I was fully instructed of all that I have spoken by the Pilote thereof, called *Hernando Alonse*, and have seene the true discription of the Straight they made in passing it, whereof they carried the copie to the King of *Spaine*, and the original to their vicetroy of *Peru*.

Of the ebbing and flowing of the Indian Ocean.

Chap. 14.

One of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in diverse seas, yea in diverse coastes of one and the same sea. There are some seas that have no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the inner Mediterranean, which is the *Thyrene* sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes every day in the vpper Mediterranean sea, which is that of *Venice*, and iustly giveth cause of admiration, that these two seas being Mediterranean, and that of *Venice* being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other sea of *Italie* none at all. There are some Mediterranean seas, that apparantly rise and fall everie moneth; and others that neyther rise in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other seas, as the Spanish O-

cean, that have their flux and reflux every day; and beſides that, they have it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to ſay, at the entry, and at the ful of every Moone, which they call Spring tides. To ſay that any ſea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I knowe not any. It is ſtrange, the difference we finde of this ſubiect at the *Indies*, for there are ſome places whereas the ſea doth daily riſe & fall two leagues as at *Panama*, and at a high water it riſeth much more; There are other places where it doth riſe and fall ſo little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean ſea to have a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and ever it falls three quarters of an houre ſooner one day then another, according to the courſe of the Moone: ſo as the tide falles not alwayes in one houre of the day. Some would ſay, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the ſea; ſo as the water that riſeth on the one ſide, falles on the other that is oppoſite vnto it: ſo that it is ful ſea on the one ſide when as it is a lowe water on the oppoſite, as we ſee in a kettle full of water, when wee moove it, when it leanes to the one ſide the water increaſeth; and on the other it diminiſheth. Others affirme, that the ſea riſeth in all partes at one time, and decreaſeth at one inſtant: as the boyling of a pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it ſelfe on all partes, and when it ceaſeth, it falles likewiſe on all partes.

This ſecond opinion is true, and in my iudgement, certaine and tried, not ſo much for the reaſons which the Philoſophers give in their Meteors, as for the certaine experience wee may make. For to ſatisfie my ſelfe vpon this point and queſtion, I demanded particularly

of

of the ſaid Pilot, how he found the tides in the ſtraight, and if the tides of the South ſea did fall whenas thoſe of the North did riſe. And contrariwiſe (this queſtion being true) why the increaſe of the ſea in one place, is the decreaſe thereof in another, as the firſt opinion holdeth. He anſwered that it was not ſo, but they might ſee plainely, that the tides of the North and South ſeas riſe at one inſtant, ſo as the waves of one ſea incountred with the other, and at one inſtant likewiſe they began to retire, every one into his ſea, ſaying, that the riſing and falling was daily ſeene, and that the incounter of the tides (as I have ſaide) was at three ſcore and tenne leagues to the North ſea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby wee may plainely gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really riſe and increaſe at one inſtat, and in others, they diminiſh, as the boyling of a pot, whereof I have ſpoken. It were impoſſible to comprehend this poynt by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th'one ſide, & on th'other ioynes together: for none but Angelles can ſee it, and iudge of the oppoſite parts: for that man hath not ſo long a ſight, nor ſo nimble and ſwift footing as were needefull, to tranſporte his eyes from one parte to another, in ſo ſhort a time, as a tide will give him reſpite, which are only ſix houres.

Of ſundry Fiſhers, and their maner of fiſhing at the Indies. Chap. 15.

THere are in the Indian Ocean, an infinite number of fiſhes, the kindes & properties whereof the Cre-

ator only can declare. There are many such as we have in the sea of *Europe*, as shaddes, and alosses which come from the sea into the rivers; dorads, pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to have seene in these partes, as those which they doe call *Cabrillas*, which doe somewhat resemble the trowt, and in new *Spaine* they call them *Bobos*, they mount from the sea into the rivers. I have not seene any *Besugues* there, nor trowts, although some say there are in *Chille*. There are *Tonins* in some partes vpon the coast of *Peru*, but they are rare, and some are of opinion, that at a certaine time they do cast their spawne in the Straight of *Magellan*, as they doe in *Spaine* at the Straight of *Gibraltar*, and for this reason they finde more vpon the coast of *Chille*, although those I have seene there, are not like to them in *Spaine*. At the Ilandes (which they call *Barlovente*) which are *Cuba*, Saint *Dominique*, *Port rique*, and *Iamaique*, they find a fish which they call *Manati*, a strange kinde of fish, if we may call it fish, a creature which ingenders her yoong ones alive, and hath teates, and doth nourish them with milke, feeding of grasse in the fieldes, but in effect it lives continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fish; yet when I did eate of it at Saint *Dominique* on a friday, I hadde some scruple, not for that which is spoken, but for that in colour and taste it was like vnto morselles of veale, so is it greene, and like vnto a cowe on the hinder partes. I didde woonder at the incredible ravening of the *Tiburons*, or sharkes, whenas I did see drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a buchers great knife, a great yron hooke, and a peece of a cowes head with one whole horne, neyther doe I knowe if both were there, or no. I did see in a creeke made with

that

that sea, a quarter of a horse for pleasure hanging vpon a stake, whither presently came a company of these *Tiburons*, at the smel thereof: and for the more pleasure, this horse flesh was hung iu the aire, I knowe not how many hand breadth from the water; this company of fish flocke about it, leaping vp, and with a strange nimblenesse cut off both flesh and bone off the horse leg, as if it had beene the stalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as sharpe as a rasour. There are certaine small fishes they call *Rambos*, which cleave to these *Tiburons*, neyther can they drive them away, and they are fed with that which falles from the *Tiburons*. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the *Ducades*; and to escape them they leape out of the sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called flying Fishes: they have wings as it were of linnen cloth, or of parchment, which do supporte them some space in the ayre. There did one flie or leape into the shippe wherin I went, the which I did see, and observe the fashion of his wings.

In the Indian histories there is often mention made of *Lezards* or *Caymans* (as they call them) and they are the very same which *Plinie* and the Antients call Crocodiles, they finde them on the sea side, and in hote rivers, for in colde rivers there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none vpon all the coast of *Peru* vnto *Payra*, but forward they are commonly seene in the rivers. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heavie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the land, and what hee takes alive, he drownes it in the water, yet dooth hee not eate it, but out of the wa-

ter, for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a woonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a Caymant and a Tigre, whereof there are most cruell at the *Indies*. A religious man of our company tolde me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruelly one against the other; vpon the sea shoare the Caymant with his taile gave great blowes vnto the Tygre, striving with his great force to carry him into the water: and the Tygre with his pawes resisted the Caymant, drawing him to land. In the end the Tigre vanquished and opened the Lezard; it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in every other parte hee is so hard, that no lance, and scarce a harquebuze can pierce it. The victory which an Indian had of a Caymant was yet more rare: the Caimant had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into the sea; the Indian mooved with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and dievers, and the Caymant swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such sort, that the Caymant feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leaving the little infant dead. But the combate which the Indians have with Whales is yet more admirable, wherein appeares the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to give so base a Nation (as be the Indians) the industry and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the worlde, and only to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, & not to triumph over him. Considering this, I have often remembred that place of the Psalme, speaking of the Whale, *Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum*: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an Indian

dian leade a whale as bigge as a mountaine, vanquished with a corde? The maner the Indians of *Florida* vse (as some expert men have tolde me) to take these whales, (whereof there is great store) is, they put themselves into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the whales side, then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke, and there they ride as on horse backe expecting his time, then hee thrustes a sharpe and strong stake (which hee carries with him) into the whales nosthrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently hee beates it in with an other stake as forcibly as hee can; in the meane space the whale dooth furiously beate the sea, and raiseth mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine; the Indian still sittes firme, and to give him full payment for this trouble, he beates another stake into the other vent or nosthrill, so as he stoppeth him quite, and takes away his breathing, then hee betakes him to his Canoe, which he holdes tied with a corde to the whales side, and goes to land, having first tied his corde to the whale, the which hee lettes runne with the whale, who leapes from place to place, whilest he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end hee comes neere the land, and remaines on ground by the hugenesse of his body, vnable any more to moove; then a great number of Indians come vnto the Conqueror, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough; this do they drie and beate into powlder, vsing it for meate, it dooth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another Psalme of the whale, *Dedisti eum escam populis Æthiopum*: Peter Mendez the *Adelantade*

did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof *Monardes* makes mention in his booke. There is an other fishing which the Indians do commonly vse in the sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or drie sedges well bound together, which they call *Balsas*, having carried them vppon their shoulders to the sea, they cast them in, and presently leape vppon them; being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing vp and downe with small reedes of eyther side: they goe a league or two into the sea to fish, carrying with them their cordes and nettes vppon these faggots, and beare themselves thereon. They cast out their nettes, and do there remaine fishing the greatest parte of the day and night, vntill they have filled vp their measure, with the which they returne wel satisfied. Truely it was delightfull to see them fish at *Callao* of *Lima*, for that they were many in number, and every one set on horsebacke, cutting the waves of the sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the *Tritons* or *Neptunes*, which they paint vppon the water, and beeing come to land, they drawe their barke out of the water vpon their backes, the which they presently vndoe, and lay abroade on the shoare to drie. There were other Indians of the vallies of *Yca* which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skinnes of sea-wolves, blowne vp with winde, and from time to time they did blowe them like balles of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of *Canete*, which in olde time they called *Guaroo*, there were a great number of Indian fishers, but bicause they resisted the *Ingua*, when he came to conquer that land, he made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appoynted a solemne fishing of manie

nie thousand Indians, which went to sea in their vessels of reeds; at whose returne, the *Ingua* (who had layde many souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this land remained vnpeopled, although it be aboundant and fertile. I did see an other manner of fishing, whereunto Don *Francis* of *Toledo* the Viceroy didde leade mee, yet was it not in the sea, but in a river which they call great in the Province of *Charcas*, where the Indians *Chiraquanas* plunged into the water, and swimming wyth an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with dartes and hookes which they vse to carry in their right hand, only swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt, they brought them foorth, seeming in this more like vnto fishes then men of the land. But now that we have left the sea, let vs come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and Pooles that be at the Indies.

Chap. 16.

IN place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called seas; seeing the Scripture calleth that of *Palestina* so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous, is that of *Titicaca*, which is at *Peru*, in the Province of *Callao*, the which as I have said in the former booke, containes neere fourscore leagues in compasse, into the which, there runnes ten or twelve great rivers. A while since, they began to saile

saile in it with barkes and shippes, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first shippe was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kindes of fishes breed in this Lake in great aboundance, the one they call *Suches*, which is great and savorous, but phlegmatike and vnwholesome; and the other *Bogos*, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones; there are great numbers of wilde-duckes and wigens. Whenas the Indians will feast it, or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two banckes, which they call *Chucuyto* and *Omasugo*, they assemble a great number of *Canoes*, making a circle and inironing the fowle, vntill they take with their hands what they please; and they call this maner of fishing *Chaco*. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of *Peru*. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call *Paria*, vpon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially swine, which grow exceeding fatte with the grasse vpon those banks. There are many other Lakes in the high mountains, whence proceede brooks & rivers, which after become great flouds. Vpon the way from *Arequippa* to *Callao*, there are two Lakes, vpon the mountains of th'one & other side the way, from th'one flowes a brooke, which growes to a floud, and falles into the South sea; from the other, they say the famous river of *Aporima* takes her beginning; from the which, some hold that the renowmed river of *Amazos*, otherwise called *Maragnon* proceedes, with so great an assembly and aboundance of waters, which ioyne in these mountaines. It is a question may be often asked,

why

why there are so many Lakes in the toppes of these mountaines, into the which no river enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet do we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the yeere. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the snow that melts, or raine from heaven, that doth not wholy satisfie me: for there are many that have not this aboundance of snow, nor raine, and yet we see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleeve they are springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest toppes of the mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous river that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere, and breedes little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there Continually. Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hote, which is another wonder. At the end of the vallie of *Tarapaya* neere to *Potozi*, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to have been made by compasse, whose water is extreamely hote, and yet the land is very colde: they are accustomed to bathe themselves neere the banke, for else they cannot indure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of above twenty foote square, which is the very spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnes of this spring) it is never seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhales of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and vnknowne issue, neither do they see it decrease; which is another wonder, although they have drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine lengines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantity

of

of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease. But leaving *Peru*, and passing to new *Spaine*, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be observed; especially that most famous of *Mexico*, where we finde two sortes of waters, one salt Lake to that of the sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the rivers that enter into it. In the midst of this Lake, is a rocke verie delightfull and pleasant, where there are baths of hote water that issue forth, the which they greatly esteeme for their health. There are gardins in the middest of this Lake, framed and fleeting vpon the water, where you may see plottes full of a thousand sortes of hearbes and flowers, and they are in such sort, as a man cannot well conceive them without sight. The Citie of *Mexico*, is seated in the same Lake, although the Spaniards have filled vp the place of the scituation with earth, leaving onely some currents of water, great and small, which enter into the Citie, to carrie such things as they have neede of, as wood, hearbes, stone, fruites of the countrie, and all other things. When *Cortez* conquered *Mexico*, he caused *Brigandins* to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more safe not to vse them: therfore they vse *Canoes*, whereof there is great store. There is great store of fish in this Lake, yet have I not seene any of price: notwithstanding, they say the revenue of this Lake, is worth three hundred thousand duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not far from this, whence they bring much fish to *Mexico*. The Province of *Mechoacan* is so called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fish. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fish, and this Province is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not possible to make mention, nor to know them in

parti-

particular, onely we may note by that which hath beene discourſed in the former booke, that vnder the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes, then in any other parte of the world: and ſo by that which we have formerly ſpoken, and the little we ſhall ſay of rivers aud fountaines, we will end this diſcourſe of Waters.

Of many and divers Springs and Fountaines. Chap. 17.

THere is at the *Indies*, as in other parts of the world, great diverſitie of Springs, Fountaines, and Rivers, and ſome have ſtrange properties. In *Guancavilica* of *Peru*, (where the mines of quick-ſilver be,) there is a Fountaine that caſts forth hote water, and in running, the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or ſtone, they build in a mauer all the houſes of the Village. This ſtone is ſoft, and eaſie to cutte, for they cut it as eaſily with yron as if it were wood, it is light and laſting. If men or beaſts drinke thereof, they die, for that it congeales in the very entrailes, and turnes into ſtone, and for that cauſe ſome horſes have died. As this water turnes into ſtone, the which flowes, ſtoppes the paſſage to the reſt, ſo as of neceſſitie it changeth the courſe, and for this reaſon it runnes in divers places, as the rocke increaſeth. At the point of Cape S. *Helaine*, there is a ſpring or fountaine of pitch, which at *Peru*, they call *Coppey*. This ſhould be like to that which the Scripture ſpeakes of the ſavage valley, where they did finde pits of pitch. The Mariners vſe theſe fountaines of pitch or *Coppey*, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it

ſerves

ſerves them as pitch and tarre in *Spaine*. When I ſailed into new *Spaine* by the coaſt of *Peru*, the Pilot ſhewed me an Iland, which they call the Ile of Wolves, where there is another fountaine or pit of *Coppey* or pitch, with the which they anoint their tackling. There are other fountaines and ſprings of *Goultran rozen*, which the Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) tolde me he had ſeene, and that ſometimes ſailing that waies, being ſo farre into the ſea, as he had loſt the ſight of land, yet did he know by the ſmell of the *Coppey*, where he was, as well as if he had knowne the land, ſuch is the ſavour that iſſues continually from that fountaine. At the baths, which they call the baths of *Ingua*, there is a courſe of water, which comes forth all hote and boiling, and ioyning vnto it, there is another whoſe water is as cold as ice. The *Ingua* was accuſtomed to temper the one with the other, & it is a wonderfull thing to ſee ſprings of ſo contrarie qualities, ſo neere one to the other. There are an infinit number of other hote ſprings, ſpecially in the Province of *Charcas*, in the water whereof, you cannot indure to hold your hand, the ſpace of an *Ave Maria*, as I have ſeene tried by wager. In a farme neere to *Cuſco*, ſprings a fountain of ſalt, which as it runs turns into ſalt, very white & exceeding good, the which (if it were in another countrie) were no ſmall riches, yet they make very ſmall accoumpt thereof, for the ſtore they have there. The waters which runne in *Guayaquel*, which is in *Peru*, almoſt vnder the Equinoctiall line, are held to be healthfull for the French diſeaſe, and other ſuch like, ſo as they come from many places farre off to be cured. And they ſay the cauſe thereof is, for that in that Countrie there is great aboundance of rootes, which they call *Sallepareille*, the vertue and ope-

ration

ration whereof is so knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this disease. *Bilcanota* is a mountaine the which (according to common opinion,) is in the highest part of *Peru*, the toppe whereof is all covered with snow, and in some places is blacke like coale. There issueth forth of it, two springs in contrarie places, which presently growe to be very great brookes, and so by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to *Calloa*, into the great Lake *Titicaca*, the other goes to the lands, and is that which they call *Yucay*, which ioyning with another, runnes into the North sea, with a violent and furious course. This spring, when it comes out of the rocke *Bilcanota*, as I have said, is of the colour of lie, having an asshie colour, and castes a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs farre in this sort, vntill the multitude of waters that runne into it, quench this smoake and fire which it drawes from the spring. In new *Spaine*, I have seene a spring as it were inke, somewhat blew, in *Peru* another, of colour red like bloud, whereupon they call it the red river.

Of Rivers. Chap. 18.

AMongst all Rivers, not onely at the *Indies*, but generally through the world, the River *Maragnon*, or of *Amazons*, is the chiefe, whereof we have spoken in the former booke. The Spaniards have often sailed it, pretending to discover the lands, which by report are very rich, especially those they call *Dorado* and *Paytiti*, *Iean de Salnies*, the *Adelantade*, made a memorable entrie, though of small effect. There is a passage which they

they call *Pongo*, one of the moſt daungerous in all the worlde; for the river being there ſtraightned, and forced betwixt two high ſteepe rockes: the water falles directly downe with ſo great a violence, that comming ſteepe downe, it cauſeth ſuch a boyling, as it ſeemeth impoſſible to paſſe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durſt attempt to paſſe it, for the deſire of this renowmed *Dorado:* they ſlipt downe from the top to the bottome, thruſt on with the violence and currant of the floud, holding themſelves faſt in their Canoes or barkes: and although in falling they were turned topſie turvie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and induſtry they recovered themſelves againe; and in this ſort the whole army eſcaped, except ſome few that were drowned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themſelves ſo cunningly, that they neyther loſt their powlder nor munition. In their returne (having ſuffered many troubles and daungers) they were forced, in the end, to paſſe backe that ſame way) mounting by one of thoſe high Rockes, ſticking their poniards in the rocke.

Captaine *Peter d'Orſua* made an other entry by the ſame river, who being dead in the ſame voyage, and the ſouldiers mutined; other Captaines followed the enterpriſe, by an arme that comes into the north ſea. A religious man of our company told vs, that being then a ſecular man, he was preſent in a manner at all that enterpriſe, and that the tides did flowe almoſt a hundred leagues vp the river, and whereas it enters into the ſea, (the which is vnder the Line, or very neere) it hath 70. leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible; and which exceedes the breadth of the Mediterranean

ſea,

ſea, though there be ſome others, who in their deſcriptions give it but twenty five or thirty leagues bredth at the mouth. Next to this river that of *Plata*, or of Silver holdes the ſecond place, which is otherwiſe called *Paraguay*, which runnes from the mountaines of *Peru*, into the ſea, in thirty five degrees of altitude to the South: it riſeth (as they ſay) like to the river of *Nile*, but much more without compariſon, and makes the fields it overflowes like vnto a ſea, for the ſpace of three moneths, and after returneth againe to his courſe, in the which ſhips do ſaile many leagues againſt the ſtreame. There are many other rivers that are not of that greatnes, and yet are equall: yea they ſurpaſſe the greateſt of *Europe*, as that of *Magdalaine*, neere to Saint *Marthe* the great river, and that of *Alvarado* in new *Spaine*, and an infinit number of others. Of the ſouth ſide, on the mountains of *Peru*, the rivers are not vſually ſo great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot ioyne together, but they are very ſwift, deſcending from the mountaines, and have ſodaine falles, by reaſon whereof they are very dangerous, and many men have periſhed there. They increaſe and overflowe moſt in the time of heate. I have gone over twenty and ſeaven rivers vpon that coaſt, yet did I never paſſe any one by a foord. The Indians vſe a thouſand deviſes to paſſe their rivers. In ſom places they have a long cord that runs fro one ſide to th'other, & thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts himſelfe that meanes to paſſe; and then they drawe it from the bancke with another corde, ſo as hee paſſeth in this basket. In other places the Indian paſſeth, as it were on horſe backe, vppon a bottle of ſtraw, and behinde him hee that deſires to paſſe; and ſo rowing with a peece of a boorde, carries him over.

In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, vppon the which they set men with their stuffe to carry over, and the Indians having cordes fastned to them, goe swimming before, and drawe this floate of pompions after them, as horses doe a Coach: others goe behinde thrusting it forward. Having passed, they take their barke of pompions vppon their backe, and returne swimming: this they doe in the river of *Saint* at *Peru*. We passed that of *Alvarado* in new *Spaine* vpon a table, which the Indians carried vpon their shoulders, and when they lost their footing, they swamme. These devises, with a thousand others wherewith they vse to passe their rivers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themselves with such weake and vnsure means; and yet they are very confident. They do vse no other bridges but of haire or of straw. There are now vppon some rivers bridges of stone, built by the diligence of some governours, but many fewer then were needfull in such a country, where so many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes so much silver, as not onely *Spaine*, but also other strange Countries make sumptuous buildings therewith. The Indians do drawe from these floudes that runne from the mountaines to the vallies and plaines, many and great brooks to water their land, which they vsually doe with such industry, as there are no better in *Murcia*, nor at *Millan* it selfe, the which is also the greatest and onely wealth of the Plaines of *Peru*, and of many other partes of the *Indies*.

Of the qualitie of the land at the Indies *in generall.*

Chap. 19.

WE may know the qualitie of the land at the *Indies*, for the greateſt parte (ſeeing it is the laſt of the three Elements, whereof wee have propounded to treate in this Booke) by the diſcourſe we have made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, ſeeing that the greateſt part of the *Indies* dooth lie vnder it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I have obſerved three kindes of lands, as I have paſſed through thoſe Regions: whereof there is one very lowe, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of theſe two extreames. The lower is that which lieth by the ſea coaſts, whereof there is in all partes of the *Indies*, and it is commonly very hote and moiſt, ſo as it is not ſo healthfull; and at this day we ſee it leſſe peopled, although in former times it hath beene greatly inhabited with Indians, as it appeareth by the hiſtories of New *Spaine* and *Peru*, and where they kept and lived; for that the ſoile was naturall vnto them being bred there. They lived of fiſhing at ſea, & of ſeeds, drawing brooks from the rivers, which they vſed for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in ſome places not at all. This lowe countrie hath many places inhabitable, as wel by reaſon of the ſands which are dangerous, (for there are whole mountaines of theſe ſandes) as alſo for the mariſhes which grow by reaſon of the waters that fall from the mountaines, which finding no iſſue in theſe flatte and lowe landes, drowne them, and make them vnprofitable.

And in trueth the greateſt parte of all the Indian ſea coaſt is of this ſort, chiefly vppon the South ſea : The habitation of which coaſts is at this preſent ſo waſted & contemned, that of thirtie partes of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the reſt of the Indians will in ſhort time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions, attribute this to diverſe cauſes; ſome to the great labour which hath beene impoſed vppon theſe Indians ; others, vnto the change and varietie of meates and drinks they vſe, ſince their commerce with the Spaniardes; others to their great exceſſe & drinking, and to other vices they have: for my part, I hold this diſorder to be the greateſt cauſe of their decay, whereof it is not now time to diſcourſe any more. In this lowe countrey (which I ſay generally is vnhealthfull, and vnfit for mans habitation) there is exception in ſome places which are temperate and fertile, as the greateſt part of the Plaines of *Peru*, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greateſt part of the habitation of the coaſt entertaines all the traffike of *Spaine* by ſea : whereon all the eſtate of the *Indies* dependeth. Vpon this coaſt there are ſome Townes wel peopled, as *Lima* and *Truxillo* in *Peru*, *Panama* and *Carthagena* vppon the maine land, and in the Ilands S. *Dominique*, *Port Ricco*, and *Havana*, with many other Townes which are leſſe than theſe, as the true Croſſe in new *Spaine*, *Yca*, *Arigua* and others in *Peru:* the ports are commonly inhabited, although but ſlenderly. The ſecond ſort of land is contrary, very high, and by conſequent, colde and drie, as all the mountaines are commonly. This land is neither fertile nor pleaſant, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are paſtures, and great ſtore of cattell, the

which

which, for the moſt parte, entertaines life, and by their cattell, they ſupply the want they have of corne and graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes theſe landes more inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the mines that are found there, for that all obeys to golde and ſilver. By reaſon of the mines there are ſome dwellings of Spaniards and Indians, which are increaſed and multiplied, as *Potozi* and *Gancavelicqua* in *Peru*, and *Cacatecas* in new *Spaine*. There are alſo through all theſe mountaines great dwellings of the Indians, which to this day are maintained; yea ſome will ſay they increaſe, but that the labour of the mines dooth conſume many, and ſome generall diſeaſes have deſtroyed a great part, as the *Cocoliſte* in new *Spaine*: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extreamitie of of high ground they finde two commodities, as I have ſaide, of paſtures and mines, which doe well countervaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongeſt the ſea coaſt, that is, the commerce of the ſea, & the aboundance of wine which groweth not but in the hot landes. Betwixt theſe two extreames there is ground of a meane height, the which, although it bee in ſome partes higher or lower one than other, yet doth it not approach neyther to the heate of the ſea coaſt, nor the intemperature of the mountaines. In this ſorte of ſoile there groweth many kindes of graine, as wheate, barley, and mays, which grows not at all in the high countries, but well in the lower, there is likewiſe ſtore of paſture, cattel, fruits, and greene forreſts. This part is the beſt habitation of the three, for health and recreation; and therefore it is beſt peopled of any parte of the *Indies*, the which I have curiouſly obſerved in manie voyages that I have vndertaken, and have alwayes

found it true, that the Province best peopled at the *Indies* be in this scituation. Let vs looke neerely into new *Spaine*, (the which without doubt is the best Province the Sunne dooth circle) by what parte soever you doe enter, you mount vp; and when you have mounted a good height, you beginne to descend, yet very little: and that land is alwayes much higher then that along the sea coast.

All the land about *Mexico* is of this nature and scituation; and that which is about the *Vulcan*, which is the best soile of the *Indies*, as also in *Peru*, *Arequipa*, *Guamangua* and *Cusco*, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe valleies, and climbe vppe to high mountaines: the like is spoken of *Quitto*, *Saint Foy*, and of the best of the new kingdome. To conclude, I doe beleeve that the wisedome and providence of the Creator would have it so, that the greatest parte of this countrey of the *Indies* should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being lowe, it had beene very hotte vnder the burning Zone, especially being farre from the sea. Also all the land I have seene at the *Indies*, is neere to the mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all partes: So as I have oftentimes saide there, that I woulde gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heaven, and a countrey stretched out and even, as we see in *Spaine* in a thousand champaine fields; yet doe I not remember that I have ever seene such sightes at the *Indies*, were it in the Ilands, or vpon the maine land, although I have travelled above seaven hundred leagues in length. But as I have saide, the neerenesse of the mountaines is very commodious in this region, to

temper

temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited partes of the *Indies* are as I have saide: and generally, all that countrie aboundes in grasse, pastures, and forrests, contrary vnto that which *Aristotle* and the Auntients did holde. So as when wee goe out of *Europe* to the *Indies*, wee woonder to see the land so pleasant, greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, & chiefly in the land of *Peru*, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof wee will now proceede to speake.

Of the properties of the land of Peru.
Chap. 20.

WEe meane by *Peru*, not that great parte of the worlde which they call *America*, seeing that therein is contained *Brefil*, the kingdome of *Chille*, and that of *Grenade*, and yet none of these kingdomes is *Peru*, but onely that parte which lies to the South, beginning at the kingdome of *Quitto*, which is vnder the Line, and runnes in length to the realme of *Chille*, the which is without the Tropickes, which were sixe hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it containes no more then the mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at *Chachapayas*, it be broader. This parte of the world which we call *Peru*, is very remarkeable, and containes in it strange properties, which serveth as an exception to the generall rule of the *Indies*. The first is, that vpon all that coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and Southweast, contrary to that which dooth vsually blow vnder the burning Zone. The second is,

that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and vnhealthfull of all others, yet in this region it is marvellous pleasing, healthful, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it never raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines and snowes terribly. Fiftly, that there are two ridges of mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeere, being very hote; and the other is all naked and bare, and very colde: so as winter and summer are divided on those two mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better vnderstanding hereof, wee must consider that *Peru* is divided as it were into three partes, long and narrow, which they call *Lanos*, *Sierras*, and *Andes*; the *Lanos* runnes alongest the sea coast; the *Sierras* be all hilles, with some vallies; and the *Andes* be steepe and craggie mountaines. The *Lanos* or sea coast, have some tenne leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The *Sierra* containes some twentie leagues in breadth; and the *Andes* as much, sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They runne in length from north to south, and in breadth from east to weast. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance, as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should bee so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and never in the other. It never raines vpon the coast or *Lanos*, although there falles sometimes a

small

small dew, which they call *Guarva*, and in *Castill Mollina*, the which sometimes thickens, and falles in certaine droppes of water, yet is it not troublesome, nor such as they neede any covering. Their coverings are of mattes with a little earth vpon them which is sufficient. Vpon the *Andes* it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the *Sierra* which lies betwixt both the extreames, it raineth in the same season as it dooth in *Spaine*, which is from September vnto Aprill, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is farthest off, and the contrarie when it is neerest, whereof we have discoursed at large in the former booke. That which they call *Andes*, and *Sierra*, are twoo ridges of most high mountaines, which runne above a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of *Vicagues*, which breede in the *Sierres*, and are properly like vnto wilde goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, which are sheepe, which we may wel terme the asses of that countrey; whereof we shall speake in their place. And vpon the *Andes* they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers. There also they find the hearb or tree which they call *Coca*, that is so greatly esteemed by the Indians, and the trafficke they make of it, is worthy much mony.

That which they call *Sierre*, causeth vallies, whereas it opens, which are the best dwellings of *Peru*, as is the valley of *Xauxa* of *Andaguaylas*, and *Yucay*. In these vallies there growes wheat, mays and other sortes of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of *Cusco*, (the ancient Court of the Lordes of those Realmes,)

Realmes,) the two ridges of mountaines seperate themselves one from the other, and in the midst leave a plaine and large champian, which they call the Province of *Callao*, where there are many rivers and great store of fertile pastures: there is also that great Lake of *Titicaca*. And although it be a ful soile, and in the same height and intemperature, that the *Sierre* having no more trees nor forrests, yet the want they have of bread, is countervailed with the rootes they sowe, the which they call *Papas*, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the Indians foode; for drying it, and making it cleane, they make that which they call *Chugno*, which is the bread and nourishment of those Provinces. There are other rootes and small hearbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the *Indies*, for the aboundance of cattell they feed, as well of those that are in *Europe*, as sheepe, neate, and goates, as of those of the Countrie, which they call *Guanacos* and *Pacos*, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Province of *Callao*, is that of *Charcas*, where there are hote vallies very fertile, and very high rockes, the which are very rich in mines, so as in no part of the world shall you finde better, nor fairer.

The reason why it raines on the Lanos, along the Sea coast. CHAP. 21.

FOr that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Countrie where it never raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenes. The reason which some give that have neerely looked into it, is, that vpon that coast there rise no vapors, sufficient

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to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there be small and light vapors, which cannot breede any other then mistes and dewes, as we see in *Europe*, oftentimes vapors do rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mistes only: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in *Europe*, falles out continually vpon the coast of *Peru*, is, for that this region is very drie, and yeeldes no grosse vapors. The drinesse is knowne by the great abundance of sandes, having neither welles nor fountaines, but of fifteene stades deepe, (which is the height of a man or more,) and that is neere vnto rivers, the water whereof, piercing into the land, giues them meanes to make welles. So as it hath been found by experience, that the course of rivers being turned, the welles have beene dried vp, vntill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they give this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they have another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the *Sierre*, which comming along the coast, shadowes the *Lanos*; so as it suffers no winde to blowe from the land, but above the toppes of these mountaines. By meanes whereof, there raines no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse, nor straine forth the vapors which rise to engender raine; so as the shadowe of the mountaines keepes the vapors from thickning, and convertes them all into mistes. There are some experiences agree with this discourse; for that it raines vpon some small hilles along the coast, which are least shadowed, as the rockes of *Atico* and *Arequipa*. It hath rained in some yeeres whenas the Northern

or

or easterly windes have blowen: yea, all the time they have continued, as it happened in seventie eight, vpon the *Lanos* of *Trugillo*, where it rained aboundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreover, it raines vpon the same coast, in places, whereas the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in *Guayaquil*, and in places whereas the land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the mountaines, as in those that are beyond *Ariqua*. Some discourse in this maner, but let every one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the mountaines to the vallies, they do vsually see as it were two heavens, one cleere and bright above, and the other obscure, and as it were a graie vaile spread vnderneath, which covers all the coast: and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise vp and nourish the seede: for although they have plentie of water, which they draw from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from heaven hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fal vpon the earth, it breedes a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren sandes are by this deaw so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and verie profitable for the feeding of cattell, as we see in the mountaine called Sandie, neere to the Cittie of Kings.

Of the propertie of new Spaine, *of the Ilands, and of other Lands,* CHAP. 22.

NEw *Spaine* passeth all other Provinces in pastures, which breedes infinite troopes of horse, kine, sheepe,

sheepe, and other cattell. It aboundes in fruite and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a Countrie the best furnished, and most accomplished at the *Indies*. Yet *Peru* doth surpasse it in one thing, which is wine, for that there growes store, and good; and they daily multiplie and increase, the which doth grow in very hote vallies, where there are waterings. And although there bee vines in new *Spaine*, yet the grape comes not to his maturitie, fit to make wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in Iulie and August, whenas the grape ripens: and therefore it comes not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of *Genua* and *Lombardie*, which is very small and sharpe, having a taste like vnto veriuice. The Ilands which they call *Barlovente*, which be *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, & others there abouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in cattell, as neate, and swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, be their sugar-workes and hides. There is much *Cassia fistula* & ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these marchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a maner impossible that all *Europe* should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as *Ebone*, & others, which serve for buildings and Ioyners. There is much of that wood which they call *Lignum sanctum* or *Guage*, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others there abouts, which are many, have a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse & greene trees, so as they cannot discerne when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture ioyned to the heate of the burning Zone. And although this land be

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of a great circuite, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great *Arcabutos*, as they call them, which be Groves or very thicke Coppeses: and on the plaines there are many marishes and bogges. They give yet another notable reason, why they are so smally peopled, for that there have remained few naturall Indians, through the inconsiderateneese and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they vse *Negros*, but they cost deere, being very fit to till the land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but castes all forth in grasse, very vneaqually. There are no olive trees, at the least, they beare no olives, but manie greene leaves pleasant to the view, which beare no fruite. The bread they vse is of *Cacave*, whereof we shall heereafter speake. There is gold in the riuers of these Ilands, which some draw foorth, but in small quantitie, I was little lesse then a yeere in these ilands; and as it hath beene told me of the maine land of the *Indies*, where I have not been, as in *Florida*, *Nicaraqua*, *Guatimala*, and others, it is in a maner of this temper, as I have described: yet have I not set downe every particular of Nature in these Provinces of the firme land, having no perfect knowledge thereof. The Countrie which doth most resemble *Spaine*, and the regions of *Europe*, in all the West *Indies*, is the realme of *Chille*, which is without the generall rule of these other Provinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of *Capricorne*. This land of it selfe is coole and fertile, and brings forth all kindes of fruites that be in *Spaine*; it yeeldes great aboundance of bread and wine, and aboundes in pastures and cattell. The aire is

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wholesome and cleere, temperate betwixt heate and cold, winter and summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this land is poore and smally peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the *Auricanos*, and their associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

Of the vnknowne Land, and the diversitie of a whole day, betwixt them of the East and the West.

Chap. 23.

THere are great coniectures, that in the temperate Zone at the Antartike Pole, there are great and fertile lands: but to this day they are not discovered, neither do they know any other land in this Zone, but that of *Chille*, and some part of that land which runnes from *Ethiopia*, to the Cape of *Good Hope*, as hath been said in the first booke; neither is it knowne if there be any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the Antartike or South Pole. Neither do we know the land that lies beyond the straight of *Magellan*, for that the greatest height yet discovered, is in fiftie six degrees, as hath beene formerly saide; and toward the Artike or Northerne Pole, it is not knowne how farre the land extendes, which runnes beyond the Cape of *Mendocin*, and the *Caliphornes*, nor the bounds and end of *Florida*, neither yet how farre it extendes to the West. Of late, they have discovered a new land, which they call *New Mexico*, where they say is much people that speake the *Mexicaine* tongue. The *Philippines* and the following Ilands, as some report that know

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it by experience, ranne above nine hundred leagues. But to intreate of *China*, *Cochinchina*, *Syam*, and other regions which are of the East *Indies*, were contrary to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of *America*, which lies betwixt *Peru* and *Bresill*, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diversitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned land, full of Lakes and waterie places; Others affirme there are great and florishing kingdomes, imagining there be the *Paytiti*, the *Dorado*, and the *Cæsars*, where they say are wonderfull things. I have heard one of our company say, a man worthy of credite, that hee had seene great dwellings there, and the waies as much beaten, as those betwixt *Salamanca*, and *Villadillit*, the which he did see, whenas *Peter d'Orsua*, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discoverie by the great river of *Amazons*, who beleeving that the *Dorado* which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabite there, and after went both without the *Dorado*, which they could not finde, and this great Province which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of *America*, are to this day vnknowne, except the extreamities, which are *Peru*, *Bresill*, and that part where the land beginnes to straighten, which is the river of Silver, then *Tucuman*, which makes the round to *Chille* and *Charcas*. Of late we have vnderstood by letters from some of ours which go to S. *Croix*, in the *Sierre*, that they go discovering of great Provinces and dwellings, betwixt *Bresill* and *Peru*. Time will reveile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the world from one part to another; so wee may beleeve, that as they have discovered that which is now

knowne,

knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaines, to the end the Gospell may be preached to the whole world, seeing the two Crownes of *Portugall* and *Castille*, have met by the East and West, ioyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be observed, that the one is come to *China* and *Iappan* by the East, and the other to the *Philippines*, which are neighbours, and almost ioyning vnto *China*, by the West: for from the Ilands of *Lusson*, which is the chiefe of the *Philippines*, in the which is the Citie of *Mamille*, vnto *Macan*, which is in the Ile of *Cauton*, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their accoumpt, there is a daies difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at *Macan*, whenas it is but Saterday at *Mamille*, and so of the rest. Those of *Macan* and of *China* have one day advanced before the *Philippines*. It happened to father *Alonse Sanches*, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the *Philippines*, he arrived at *Macan* the second day of Maie, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of S. *Athanasius*, he found they did celebrate the feast of the invention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of Maie. The like happened vnto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some have found this alteration and diversitie, strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well observed computation, for according to the difference of waies where they have beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meete, there must bee difference of a day; the reason is, for that sailing from West

to East, they alwaies gaine of the day, finding the sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, do alwaies loose of the day; for that the Sunne riseth later vnto them; and as they approach neerer the East or the West, they have the day longer or shorter. In *Peru*, which is westward in respect of *Spaine*, they are above sixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in *Spaine*, it is morning at *Peru*; and when it is morning heere, it is mid-night there. I have made certaine proofe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the Portugalls have made their navigations from West to East, and the Castillans from East to West, when they came to ioyne and meete at the *Philippines* and *Macan*, the one have gained twelve houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of twentie houres, which is a whole day; so as necessarily, the one are at the third of Maie, whenas the others accoumpt but the second; and whenas the one doth fast for Easter eve, the others eate flesh for the day of the resurrection. And if we will imagine that they passe farther, turning once againe about the world, vsing the same computation, when they should returne to ioyne together, they should finde by the same accoumpt, two daies difference: for as I have saide, those that go to the Sunne rising, accoumpt the day sooner, for that the Sunne riseth to them sooner, and those that go to the setting, accoumpt the day later, for that it goes from them later: finally, the diversitie of the noone tide, causeth the divers reckoning of the day. And now for as much as those that doe saile from East to West, change their noone tide without perceiving it, and yet still follow the same computation

they

they did when they parted; of neceſſitie having made the compaſſe of the worlde, they muſt finde the want of a whole day in their computation.

Of the Volcans or Vents of fire. Chap. 24.

Although we finde vents of fire in other places, as mount *Ætna* and *Weſuvio*, which now they call mount *Soma*, yet is that notable which is found at the *Indies*. Ordinarily theſe *Volcans* be rockes or pikes of moſt high mountaines, which raiſe themſelves above the toppes of all other mountaines; vpon their toppes they have a plaine, and in the midſt thereof a pitte or great mouth, which diſcends even vnto the foote thereof; a thing verie terrible to beholde. Out of theſe mouthes, there iſſues ſmoake, and ſometimes fire: ſome caſt little ſmoake, and have in a maner no force of *Volcans*, as that of *Arequipa*, which is of an vnmeaſurable height, and almoſt all ſand. It cannot be mounted vp in leſſe then two daies, yet they have not found any ſhew of fire, but onely the reliques of ſome ſacrifices which the Indians made while they were Gentiles, and ſometimes it doth cauſe a little ſmoake. The *Volcan* of *Mexico* which is neere to the Village of Angels, is likewiſe of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirty leagues in turning: from this *Volcan* iſſueth not continually, but ſometimes, almoſt every day, a great exhalation or whirle-winde of ſmoake, which aſcends directly vp like to the ſhot of a Croſſe-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, vntill it ceaſeth quite, and is preſently converted into an obſcure and darke cloude. Moſt commonly it riſeth in the morning

after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I have seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it dooth cast foorth great store of ashes after this smoake. They have not yet seene any fire come from it; yet they feare it will issue forth and burne al the land round about, which is the best of all the kingdome: And they holde it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this *Vulcan* & the *Sierre* of *Tlaxcala*, which is neere vnto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Some Spaniards have mounted vppe to this *Volcan*, and given notice of the mine of sulphre to make powlder thereof. *Cortez* reportes the care hee had to discover what was in this *Volcan*. The *Volcans* of *Guatimalla* are more renowmed, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discover a farre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred eighty and sixe, almost all the Cittie of *Guatimalla* fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This *Volcan* had then sixe moneths together, day and night cast out from the toppe, and vomited as it were, a floud of fire, the substance falling vpon the sides of the *Volcan*, was turned into ashes like vnto burnt earth (a thing passing mans iudgement, to conceive how it could cast so much matter from its centre during sixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes. This was written vnto me being at *Mexico*, by a Secretarie of the audience of *Guatimalla*, a man woorthy of credite, and at that time it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being

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in *Quitto* in the Cittie of *Kings*, the *Volcan* which is neere thereunto, cast such aboundance of ashes, that in many leagues compasse thereabout it darkned the light of the day: and there fell such store in *Quitto*, as they were not able to goe in the streetes. There have beene other *Volcans* seene which cast neither smoake, flame, nor yet ashes, but in the botome they are seene to burn with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a covetous and greedy Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of golde hee did see burning, imagining it coulde be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit hee made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and drawe vp the golde out of this pitte or *Volcan*: but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his yron chaine and caldron approach neere the fire, but sodainely they were broken in peeces. Yet some tolde mee, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inventions for to drawe out this golde as he imagined.

What should be the reason why the fire and smoake continues so long in these Vulcans? CHAP. 25.

THere is no neede now to make any mention of other *Vulcans*, seeeing wee may well vnderstand by the former what they are: yet is it woorthy the search, what should be the cause why the fire and smoake continues in these *Volcans*; for that it seemes a prodigious thing, yea against the course of Nature, to vomite and cast out so many flames. Whence dooth this matter proceede, or whether it be ingendred within the bow-

elles thereof? Some have held opinion, that these *Volcans* consume the inner substance they have of Nature; and for this reason they beleeve, that naturally they shal end, whenas they have consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion we see at this day, some mountaines and rockes, from whence they drawe a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to builde with, as that which is carried to *Mexico*. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath beene spoken, that these mountaines or rockes hadde sometimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones have remayned burnt and pierced with the fire as we see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not bin fire sometimes, or *Volcans*. But there is some difficultie to be beleeve it should be so in all *Volcans*, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not be contained in the same concavitie from whence it goes. Moreover, there are some *Volcans*, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwaies of one fashion, casting out continually, smoke, fire, and ashes. *Plinie* the Historiographer of naturall things (as the other *Plinie* his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approching too neere th'exhalation of fire of one of these *Volcans*, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my parte, vpon this consideration I think, that as ther are places in th'earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporous matter, and to convert it into water, which be the fountaines that alwayes runne, and have alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they drawe vnto them the substance of water.

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In like sorte there are places that have the propertie to draw vnto them hote exhalations, and to convert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolves into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to proove it to be so in these *Volcans*, they sometimes cast smoke, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can drawe vnto it, and digest, as the fountaines which in winter abound, and in summer decrease; yea some are quite dried vp, according to the force and vigour they have, and the matter that is presented: even so it is of these *Volcans*, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is hell fire, which issueth there, to serve as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if hell (as Divines holde) be in the centre of the earth, the which containes in diameter above two thousand leagues, we can not iudge that this fire is from the centre; for that hell fire (as saint *Basil* and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours. And therefore I conclude, that what I have saide, seemes to me more reasonable.

Basil. psal. 2. & in exam.

Of Earthquakes. Chap. 26.

Some have held, that from these *Volcans* which are at the *Indies*, the earthquakes proceed, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those *Volcans*, it can not be the totall cause. It is true they have a certaine simpathy one with

another, for that the hote exhalations which engender in the inner concavities of the earth, seeme to be the materiall substance of fire in the *Volcans*, whereby there kindleth an other more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoke that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the earth) move it, to issue forth with great violence, wherby we heare that horrible noise vnder the earth, and likewise the shaking of the earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Even as gunpowlder in mines, having fire put to it breakes rockes and walles: and as the chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noyse, whenas it casts forth the aire (which is contained within the huske) by the force of the fire: Even so these Earthquakes do most commonly happen in places neere the water or sea. As we see in *Europe*, and at the *Indies*, that townes and cities fartheſt from the sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated vpon portes of the sea, vpon rivers, the sea coast, and places neere vnto them, feele most this calamitie. There hath happened in *Peru*, (the which is wonderfull, and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which have runne from *Chille* vnto *Quitto*, and that is above hundred leagues, I say the greatest that ever I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Vpon the coast of *Chille* (I remember not well in what yeare) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it overturned whole mountains, and thereby stopped the course of rivers which it converted into lakes, it beat downe townes, and slew a great number of people, causing the sea to leave her place some leagues, so as the shippes remained on drie ground, farre from the ordinary roade, with many other heavie and horrible things. And as I well remember

ber, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongest the coast. Soone after, which was in the yeere eighty two, happened that Earthquake of *Arequipa*, which in a maner overthrew the whole citie. Since in the yeere eightie sixe, the ninth of Iulie, fell an other Earthquake in the cittie of *Kings*, the which as the Viceroy did write, hadde runne a hundred three score and tenne leagues alongest the coast, and overthwart in the *Sierre* fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this earthquake, to forewarne the people by a great noyse which they heard alittle before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselves in safetie, leaving their houses, streetes, and gardins, to go into the fieldes; so as although it ruined a great parte of the Cittie, and of the chiefest buildings, yet there died not above fifteene or twenty persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at sea, as it had done at *Chille*, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the sea furiously to flie out of her boundes, and to runne neere two leagues into the land, rising above foureteene fadome: it covered all that plaine, so as the ditches and peeces of wood that were there, swamme in the water. There was yet an other earthquake in the Realme and Cittie of *Quitto*; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes vppon that coast, have succeeded one an other by order, as in trueth it is subiect to these inconveniences. And therefore although vpon the coast of *Peru*, there be no torments from heaven, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare vppon the land: and so everie one hath before his eies, the Heraults of divine Iustice, to moove him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith,

Fecit

Fecit hæc vt timeatur. Returning then to our purpose, I say the sea coast is most subiect to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my iudgement, for that the water dooth stop the conduites and passages of the earth, by which the hote exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humiditie thickning the superficies of the earth, dooth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and incounter violently in the bowells of the earth, which doe afterwards breake forth.

Some have obserued, that such Earthquakes have vsually hapned, whenas a rainie season falles after some drie yeeres. Wherevpon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most welles, the which is approoved by experience. Those of the Cittie of *Mexico* holde opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent: and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Provinces, farre within the land, and farthest from the sea, receive sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Cittie of *Chachapoyas* at the *Indies*, and in *Italie* that of *Ferrara*, although vpon this subiect. It seemes this latter, being neere to a river, and not farre from the *Adriatic* sea, should rather be numbred among the sea-Townes. In the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, in *Cugiano*, a Cittie of *Peru*, otherwise called the Peace, there hapned a strange accident touching this subiect. A village called *Angoango* (where many Indians dwelt that were sorcerers and idolatrers) fell sodainely to ruine, so as a great parte thereof was raised vp and carried away, and many of the Indians smothered, and that which seems incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that

was

was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide vpon the land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had beene water or wax molten, so as it stopt and filled vppe a Lake, and remayned so spread over the whole countrey.

How the land and sea imbrace one an other.
Chap. 27.

I Wil end with this Element of earth, vniting it to the precedent of water, whose order and embracing is truely of it selfe admirable. These two elements have one spheare divided betweene them, and entertaine and embrace one another in a thousand sortes and maners. In some places the water encounters the land furiously as an enemy, and in other places, it invirons it after a sweete and amiable manner. There are partes whereas the sea enters far within the land, as comming to visite it; and in other partes the land makes restitution, casting his capes, points and tongues farre into the sea, piercing into the bowelles thereof. In some partes one element ends and another beginnes, yeelding by degrees one vnto another. In some places (where they ioyne) it is exceeding deepe, as in the Ilands of the South Sea, and in those of the North, whereas the shippes ride close to the land; and although they sound three score and tenne, yea foure score fadomes, yet do they finde no bottome, which makes men coniecture, that these are pikes or poynts of land which rise vp from the bottome, a matter woorthy of great admiration. Heerevpon a very expert Pilote said vnto me, that the Ilands which they call of Woolves, and others, that lie

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at the entry of the coast of New *Spaine*, beeing called *Cocos*, were of this manner.

Moreover, there is a place in the midst of the great Ocean, without the view of land, and many leagues from it, where are seene as it were two towers or pikes of a very high elevated rocke, rising out of the middest of the sea, and yet ioyning vnto it they finde no bottome. No man can yet perfectly comprehend, nor conceive the full and perfect forme of the land at the *Indies*, the boundes being not wholy discovered to this day: yet wee may gheesse that it is proportioned like a heart with the lungs. The broadest of this heart is from *Bresill* to *Peru*, the poynt at the straight of *Magellan*, and the top where it ends is the firme land, and there the continent begins by little and litle to extend it selfe vntill wee come to the height of *Florida* and the vpper landes, which are not yet well discovered. We may vnderstand other particularities of this land at the *Indies*, by the Commentaries which the Spaniards have written of their succesſe and discoveries; and amongest the rest, of the Peregrination which I have written; which in trueth is strange, and may give a great light. This in my opinion may suffice at this time, to give som knowledge of things at the *Indies*, touching the common elements, of the which all parts of the worlde are famed.

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THE

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Hiſtorie of the Indies.

Of three kindes of mixtures or compounds, of the which I muſt intreate in this Hiſtorie. CHAP. I.

HAving intreated in the former booke of that which concernes the Elements, and the ſimples of the *Indies*, in this preſent booke we will diſcourſe of mixtures and compounds, ſeeming fit for the ſubiect we ſhall treate of. And although there be many other ſundrie kindes, yet we will reduce this matter into three, which are Mettalls, Plants, and Beaſts. Mettalls are (as plants,) hidden and buried in the bowels of the earth, which have ſome conformitie in themſelves, in the forme and maner of their production; for that wee ſee and diſcover even in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which

are

are the greater veines and the leſſe, ſo as they have a knitting in themſelves: and it ſeemes properly that theſe minerales grow like vnto plants, not that they have any inward vegitative life, being onely proper to plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other planets, and in long continuance of time, they increaſe and multiply after the maner of plants. And even as mettalls be plants hidden in the earth, ſo we may ſay, that plants be living creatures fixed in one place, whoſe life is maintained by the nouriſhment which Nature furniſheth from their firſt begnning. But living creatures ſurpaſſe plants, in that they have a more perfect being; and therefore have neede of a more perfect foode and nouriſhment; for the ſearch whereof, Nature hath given them a moving and feeling to diſcover and diſcerne it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a ſubſtance and nutriment for mettalls; and that which is fertile and better ſeaſoned a nouriſhment for plants. The ſame plants ſerve as a nouriſhment for living creatures, and the plants and living creatures together as a nouriſhment for men, the inferiour nature alwaies ſerving for the maintenance and ſuſtentation of the ſuperiour, and the leſſe perfect yeelding vnto the more perfect: whereby we may ſee how much it wants, that gold and ſilver and other things which men ſo much eſteeme by their covetouſneſſe, ſhould be the happines of man, wherevnto he ſhould tend, ſeeing they be ſo many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath been created and made onely to be a ſubiect to ſerve the vniverſall Creator of all things, as his proper end and perfect reſt, and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left, but to gaine

this

this last end. Who so would consider of things created, and discourse according to this Philosophie, might draw some fruite from the knowledge and consideration thereof, making vse of them to know and glorifie their Author. But he that would passe on farther to the knowledge of their properties and profits, and would curiously search them out, hee shall finde in these creatures, that which the Wiseman saies, that they are snares and pitfalles to the feete of fooles & ignorant, into the which they fall and loose themselves daily. To this intent therefore, and that the Creator may be glorified in his creatures, I pretend to speake of some things in this Booke, whereof there are many at the *Indies* worth the report, touching mettalls, plants, and beasts, which are proper and peculiar in those parts. But for that it were a great worke to treate thereof exactly, and requires greater learning and knowledge; yea, much more leisure then I have, my intent is only to treate of some things succinctly, the which I have observed, as well by experience, as the report of men of credite, touching these three things which I have propounded, leaving to men more curious and diligent to treate more amply of these matters. *Sap. 14.*

Of the aboundance and great quantitie of Mettall at the West Indies. Chap. 2.

THe wisedome of God hath made mettalls for phisicke, and for defence, for ornament and for instruments for the worke of men, of which foure things we may easily yeelde examples, but the principall end of mettalls, and the last thereof, is, for that the life of man hath

hath not onely neede of nouriſhment as the beaſts, but alſo he muſt worke and labour according vnto the reaſon and capacitie which the Creator hath given him. And as mans vnderſtanding doth apply it ſelfe to divers artes and faculties, ſo the ſame Author hath given order, that hee ſhould finde matter and ſubiect to diverſe artes, for the conſervation, reparation, ſuretie, ornament and exaltation of his workes. The diverſitie therefore of mettalls, which the Creator hath ſhut vp in the cloſets and concavities of the earth, is ſuch, and ſo great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from everie one of them. Some ſerve for curing of diſeaſes, others for armes and for defence againſt the enemies, ſome are for ornament and beautifying of our perſons and houſes, and others are fit to make veſſels and yron-workes, with divers faſhions of inſtruments, which the induſtry of man hath found out and put in practiſe. But above all the vſes of mettalls, which bee ſimple and natural, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the vſe of money, the which (as the Philoſopher ſaieth) is the meaſure of all things. And although naturally, and of it ſelfe, it be but one onely thing, yet in value and eſtimation wee may ſay, that it is all things. Mony is vnto vs as it were, meate, clothing, houſe, horſe, and generally whatſoever man hath neede of. By this meanes all obeyes to mony, and as the Wiſe man ſaith, to finde an invention that one thing ſhould be all. Men guided or thruſt forward by a naturall inſtinct, chooſe the thing moſt durable and moſt maniable, which is mettall, and amongſt mettals, gave them the preheminence in this invention of mony, which of their nature were moſt durable and incorruptible, which is ſilver and golde.

Ariſt. 5. Ethic. cap. 5.

Eccleſ. 10.

The

The which have bin in esteeme, not onlie amongst the *Hebrewes Assirians, Greekes, Romans*, and other nations of *Europe* and *Asia*, but also amongst the most retyred and barbarous nations of the world, as by the Indians both East and West, where gold and silver is held in great esteeme, imploying it for the workes of their Temples and Pallaces, & for the attyring and ornament of kings and great personages. And although we have found some *Barbarians*, which know neither gold nor silver, as it is reported of those of *Florida*, which tooke the bagges and sackes wherein the silver was, the which they cast vpon the ground, and left as a thing vnprofitable. And *Plinie* likewise writes of the *Babitacques*, which abhorred gold, and therefore they buried it, to the end that no man should vse it. But at this day they finde few of these *Floridiens* or *Babitacques*, but great numbers of such as esteeme, seeke, and make accoumpt of gold and silver, having no neede to learne it of those that go from *Europe*. It is true, their covetousnesse is not yet come to the height of ours, neither have they so much worshipped gold and silver, although they were Idolaters, as some blinde Christians, who have committed many great out-rages for gold and silver. Yet is it a thing very worthy consideration, that the wisedome of the Eternall Lord, would inrich those partes of the world, which are most remote, and which are peopled with men of lesse civilitie and government, planting there great store of mines, and in the greatest aboundance that ever were, thereby to invite men to search out those lands, and to possesse them, to the end that by this occasion, they might plant religion, and the worship of the true God, amongst those that knew it not, fulfilling therein the prophecie of

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Isaie.54. *Isaie*, saying, that the Church should stretch forth her boundes, not onely to the right, but also to the left: which is vnderstood as S. *Augustine* saieth, that the Gospell should be spread abroad, not onely by those that sincerely, and with a true & perfect charity preach and declare it, but also by those that publish it, tending to temporall ends; whereby wee see, that the Indian land, being more aboundant in mines and riches, hath beene in our age best instructed in the Christian religion, the Lord vsing our desires and inclinations to serve his soveraigne intentions. Herevpon a Wise man said, that what a father doth to marie his daughter wel, is to give her a great portion in mariage; the like hath God done for this land so rough and labourſome, giving it great riches in mines, that by this meanes it might be the more sought after. At the West *Indies* then there are great store of mines of all sortes of mettalls, as copper, yron, lead, tinne, quicke-silver, silver and gold: and amongst all the regions and partes of the *Indies*, the realmes of *Peru* abound most in these mettalls, especially with gold, silver, quicke-silver, or mercurie, whereof they have found great store, and daily discover new mines. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discover, are without comparison, farre more in number, then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seemes that all the land is sowed with these mettalls, more then any other in the world that is yet knowne vnto vs, or that ancient writers have made mention of.

Aug.lib.1.de concor.evang. cap.31.

of

Of the qualitie and nature of the earth where the mettalls are found, and that all these mettalls are not imployed at the Indies, *and how the Indians vsed them.*

CHAP. 3.

THe reason why there is so great aboundance of mettalls at the *Indies*, (especially at the west of *Peru*, as I have saide,) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his giftes as it pleased him. But comming to a naturall and philosophicall reason, it is very true, which *Philon* a wise man writes, saying, that gold, silver, and mettalls, grow naturally in land that is most barren and vnfruitefull. And we see, that in lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with grasse and fruites, there are seldome found any mines; for that Nature is contented to give them vigour to bring forth fruites more necessarie for the preservation and maintenance of the life of beasts and men. And contrariwise to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren, (as in the highest mountains and inaccessible rockes of a rough temper,) they finde mines of silver, of quicke-silver and of gold, and all those riches (which are come into *Spaine* since the West *Indies* were discovered) have been drawne out of such places which are rough and full, bare and fruitlesse: yet the taste of this mony, makes these places pleasing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I have said, many mines of all kinds of mettalls as at the *Indies*, yet they vse none but those of gold and silver, and as much quicke-silver as is necessarie to refine their gold and silver. They carrie yron thither from *Spaine* and *China*. As for copper, the Indians have drawne

Philo. lib. 5. de Genes. mund.

Euseb. lib. 8. de prepar. evan. c. 9.

vse, which consumeth all other mettalles, (as the same *Plin.lib.33.c.3* *Plinie* saith) dooth not any thing waste golde, nor yet hurte it, neither is it eaten, nor groweth olde. And although his substance and body be firme and solide; yet dooth it yeelde and bow woonderfully; the Beaters and Drawers of golde knowe well the force it hath to bee drawen out without breaking. All which things well considered, with other excellent properties, will give men of iudgement to vnderstand, wherefore the holie *Apoc.3.& 21.* Scripture dooth compare Charitie to golde. To con- *Cant.3.* clude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies *Psal.67.* thereof to make it more desirable. For the greateſt ex- *3.Reg.6.* cellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men, for the supreame power and greatnesse of the worlde. Comming therefore to our subiect; at the *Indies* there is great abundance of this mettall, and it is wel knowne by approoved histories, that the *Inguas* of *Peru* did not content themselves with great and small vessels of gold, as pots, cups, goblets, and flagons; yea with kowles or great vessells, but they had chaires also, and litters of massie golde: and in their Temples they had set vppe maine Images of pure golde, whereof they finde some yet at *Mexico*, but not such store as when the first Conquerours came into the one and the other kingdome, who found great treasure, and without doubt there was much more hidden in thearth by the Indians. It would seeme ridiculous to reporte that they have made their horse shooes of silver for want of yron, and that they have payd three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine, and other strange things; and yet in trueth this hath come to passe, yea and greater matters. They drawe golde in those partes, after three sorts: or at the least, I have seene all three vsed. For eyther they find gold in graines,

graines, in powlder, or in stone. They do call golde in graines, small morsels of gold, which they find whole, without mixture of any other mettall, which hath no neede of melting or refining in the fire: and they call them pippins, for that commonly they are like to pippins, or seeds of melons, or pompions: and that wherof *Iob* speakes, when he saies, *Leve illius aurum*, though sometimes there be greater, and such as I have seene weighed many poundes. It is the excellencie of this mettall alone (as *Plinie* affirmes) to be found thus pure and perfect, which is not seene in any other mettalles, which are alwayes earthly, and have a scumme, and neede purging by the fire: I have likewise seene silver naturall like to Yea there is an other kinde which the Indians call *Papas*, and sometimes they find peeces very fine and pure, like to small round rootes, the which is rare in that mettall, but vsuall in gold. They finde little of this golde in pippin, in respect of the other kindes. Golde in stone is a veine of gold that groweth or ingendereth within the stone or flint, as I have seene in the mines of *Curuma*, within the government of *Salines*, very great stones pierced and intermixed with gold; others that were halfe gold, and halfe stone. The golde which groweth in this manner, is found in pittes or mines, which have their veines like to the silver mines, but it is very hard to drawe it foorth: *Agatarchides* writes in his first booke of the *Erithrean* or red sea (as *Phocion* reportes in his *Bibliotheca*) of the manner and fashion to refine golde, drawne out of stones, the which the antient Kings of *Egypt* were wont to vse, & it is a strange thing to see how that which is written resembles properly to the manner they vse at this day in refining these mettalls of golde and silver. The greatest

1. pipinas

Iob 18.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 5

2. papas.

3. Curuma

refininge.

gondur great quantitie in riuers

test quantitie of golde which is drawne at the *Indies*, is that in powlder, the which is found in streames and places wher much water hath passed, because the flouds at the *Indies* abound in this kinde of golde; As the Ancients for this occasion did celebrate the river of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *Pactolus* in *Asia*, and *Ganges* in the East *Indies*, and called them *Ramenta auri*, the which we others call golde in powlder, and of this sort is the greatest quantitie of golde they have at this day. At this present in the Ilands of *Barlovent*, *Hispaniola*, *Cuba*, and *Port Ricco*, there hath beene, and is great quantity in the rivers, but they bring little from thence into *Spaine*, for want of the naturall inhabitants of the country, & the difficultie to drawe it. There is great aboundance in the kingdome of *Chille*, of *Quitto*, and in the new Realme of *Grenado*.

Peru, Chille. carats. 23 ½

The most famous golde is that of *Caranava* in *Peru*, and of *Valdivia* in *Chille*, for that it riseth with his alloy and perfection, which is twenty three carrats and a halfe, and sometimes more. They make accompt likewise of the gold of *Veragua* to be very fine. They bring much golde to *Mexico* from the *Philippines*, and *China*, but commonly it is weake, and of base alloy. Golde is commonly found mixt with silver or with copper; but that which is mixed with silver is commonly of fewer carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift parte of silver, *Plinie* saieth, it is then properly called *Electrum*, which hath the property to shine more at the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine silver. That which is incorporate with copper, is commonly of a higher value. They refine powldred golde in basens, washing it in many waters, vntill the sand falles from it, and the golde as most heavie remaineth in the bottome

Mexico, China,

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 4

refine washing

tome. They refine it likewise with quicke-silver and strong water, for that the allume whereof they make this water hath the vertue to separate gold from drosse, or from other mettalls. After it is purified and molten, they make brickes or small barres to cary it vnto *Spaine*; for being in powlder, they cannot transport it from the *Indies*, for they can neither custome it, marke it, nor take say, vntill it be molten. The foresaide Historiographer reporteth that *Spaine* above all other Countries of the world, did abound in gold and silver; especially *Galitia* and *Portugall*, & above all, the *Asturiacs*, whence hee saieth they brought every yeere twenty thousand pounds of golde, and that they found not so great aboundance in any other place. The which is confirmed in the booke of *Macabees*, where it is saide, that amongest the great riches of the Romans, they had in their power, the golde and silver of *Spaine*. At this day the great treasure of *Spaine* comes from the *Indies*, wherein the divine Providence hath appoynted one Realme to serve another, which doe imparte their wealth to participate their governement for the good the one of the other, in communicating mutually the goodes and graces they doe inioy: wee can not value nor esteeme the quantitie of golde that is brought from the *Indies*; but we may well say, it is much more then that which *Pliny* reports was brought yeerely from *Spaine* to *Rome*. In the fleete where I came, which was in the yeere, 1585. the declaration of the firme land was of twelve cassons or chests of golde, every casson at the least weied foure *Arobes*, that is a hundred weight; and a thousand fifty and sixe mares from New *Spaine*, which was for the King only, besides that which came for Merchants and private men being registred; and much

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4

Spaine, Ro

1. Maccab. 8.

India Spain

an°. 1585.

6000 Starl

much that came vnregistred: This may suffice touching the golde of the *Indies*, and now we will speake of silver.

Of the Silver at the Indies. Chap. 5.

Iob 28. WE reade these wordes in the Booke of *Iob*, *Siluer hath certain beginnings and roots in his veins, and golde hath a setled place, where it ingenders and thickens, yron with digging is drawne out of the earth, and stone molten with heate is turned into copper*: Hereby he wisely shewes in few words, the nature of silver, golde, yron & copper. We have spoken something of the places where golde is ingendered and congealed, which is either of the foresaide stones in the deapth of mountaines, and in the bowells of the earth: or in the sand of rivers, and where brookes have runne, or else on the toppes of mountaines, the which golde in powlder runnes downe with the water. And this is the common opinion they holde at the *Indies*. Wherevppon many of the common sort believe that the deluge (having drowned all, even to the highest hills) hath beene the cause that at this day they finde this golde in the rivers, and in places so farre off. Now we wil shew how they discover the mines of silver, their veines, rootes, and beginnings whereof *Iob* speakes.

And first I will say, that the reason why they give silver the second place among all other mettalles, is, for that it approacheth neerer to golde then any other, being more durable and lesse indomaged by the fire, and more maniable then any other: yea it passeth golde in brightnesse, beauty and sound, the which is cleere, and agreeable, for the colour is more conformable and re-

sembling

sembling the light, and the sound more percing, more lively, and more delicate. Likewise there are some places where they value silver more then golde. It is yet an argument, to iudge that gold is more pretious then all other mettalls, for that it is found with greater difficultie; and Nature seemes more sparing in bringing it foorth (although there be countries as they say of *Chine*) where they finde golde more easily then silver: yet it is more common and ordinarie, to finde silver with more facilitie and greater abundance then gold. The Creator hath furnished the Weast *Indies* with so great a treasure of silver, as all that which we reade of in antient Histories, and that which is spoken of the mines of *Spaine*, and other provinces, is not comparable to that we see in those partes. The mines of silver are commonly found in mountaines, and high rockes very desart, although they have sometimes bin found in Plaines and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call stragling, the other fixed and setled. The straggling, are peeces of mettall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the fixed veines, are those which have a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of trees; and when they find anie one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The maner to purge & refine silver which the *Indians* have vsed, was by melting, in dissolving this masse of mettall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse aparte, and by his force separates silver from lead, tinne from copper, and other mettalls mixt. To this end they did build small furnaces in places whereas the winde did commonly blow, and with wood and cole made their refining, the which furnaces in *Ptru* they call *Guayras*. refine.

Since

Since the Spaniards entred, beſides this manner of refining which they vſe to this day: they likewiſe refine ſilver with quicke-ſilver, and draw more by this means then in refining it by fire. For there is ſome kind of ſilver mettall found which can by no meanes be purged, and refined by fire, but onely with quickeſilver. But this kinde of mettall is commonly poore and weake, the which vſually they finde in greateſt aboundance. They cal that poore which yields leaſt ſilver, and great quantitie of other mettall, and that rich which yieldes moſt ſilver. It is ſtrange to ſee, not onely the difference betwixt the refining of mettall by fire, and without it by quicke-ſilver, but alſo that ſome of theſe mettalles, which are refined by the fire, can not well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes; but when it is kindled and blowen with the naturall ayre, or naturall winde. The mettall of the mines of *Porco* is eaſily refined with bellowes, and that of the mines of *Potozi* cannot be molten with bellowes, but only by the breath of their *Guayras*, which are ſmall furnaces vpon the ſides of the mountaines, built expreſly where the winde lies, within the which they melt this mettal; and though it be hard to yielde a reaſon for this difference, yet is it moſt certaine and approoved by long experience: ſo as the greedie deſire of this mettall ſo much valued amongſt men, hath made them ſeek out a thouſand gentle inventions and deviſes, whereof wee will heereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the *Indies* from whence they drawe ſilver, are New *Spaine*, and *Peru*; but the mines of *Peru* farre ſurpaſſe the reſt; and amongſt all others of the worlde, thoſe of *Potozi*, whereof wee will intreate alittle at leaſure, being the moſt famous and remarkeable things at the *Indies*.

of

Of the mountaine or hill of Potozi, *and the discovery thereof.* CHAP. 6.

THe mountaine or hill of *Potozi* so famous, scituate in the Province of *Charcas*, in the kingdome of *Peru*, distant from the Equinoctiall towardes the South, or Pole Antartike, 21. degrees and two thirds: so as it falles vnder the Tropicke, bordering vpon the burning Zone, and yet this region is extreamely cold, yea, more then old *Castill* in the kingdome of *Spaine*, and more then *Flanders* it selfe, although by reason it should be hote or temperate, in regard of the height and elevation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold a temperature, is the height of the mountaine, whereas colde and intemperate windes continually blow, especially that which they call *Thomahavi*, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in Iune, Iulie, and August. The ground and soile of this mountaine is drie, cold, and very vnpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruite, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally inhabitable, for the intemperature of the heaven, and the barrennes of the earth. But the force of silver, which drawes vnto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meats, as there wantes nothing that can be desired, yea, in great aboundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet every place aboundes so with fruite, conserves exquisite wines, silkes, & all other delicats, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing

Potozi or mountaine

sing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a pavilion, or of a sugar loafe. It exceedes all other hilles and mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and vneven, and yet they go vpon horse-backe. It is round at the top, & at the foote it hath a league in circuite. It containes from the toppe to the bottome 1680. common yardes, the which reduced to the measure of Spanish leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foote of this mountaine there is another small hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene sometimes mines of mettall dispearsed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small rocke was called by the Indians *Guayna Potozi*, which is yong *Potozi*; at the foote whereof beginnes the dwellings of the Spaniards and Indians, which are come to the riches and worke of *Potozi*, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuite, and the greatest trafficke and commerce of all *Peru* is in this place. The mines of this mountaine were not digged nor discovered in the time of their *Inguas*, which were the Lordes of *Peru*, before the Spaniardes entred, although they had digged and opened the mines of *Porco*, neere to *Potozi*, distant onely sixe leagues. The reason might be the want of knowledge thereof, although some do report I know not what fable, that having sometimes laboured to open those mines, a voyce was heard, commaunding them not to touch it, being reserved for others. In trueth they had no knowledge of *Potozi*, nor of the wealth thereof, till after twelve yeeres that the Spaniards were entred into *Peru*, the discovery whereof was made in this manner.

An

An Indian called *Gualpa*, of the Nation of *Chumbibilca*, which is a Province of *Cusco*, going one day to hunt for venison, passing towardes the weast whither the beast was fled, he beganne to runne vppe against the rocke, which at that time was covered and planted with certaine trees, they call *Quinua*, and with thick bushes, and as he strived to gette vp a way which was somewhat rough and vneasie, hee was forced to lay holde vpon a braunch, which issued from a veine of a silver mine (which since they have called *Rich*) which he pulled vp, perceiving in the hole or roote thereof, mettall, the which hee knew to be very good, by the experience hee had of the mines of *Porco*: and after finding vpon the ground, certaine peeces of mettall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarse well able to iudge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine. He carried it to *Porco* to trie by the *Guayras* (which is the triall of mettall by fire, and having thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew mettall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, vntil that an Indian called *Guanca*, of the valley of *Xaura*, which is vpon the bordures of the Cittie of *Kings*, who remaining at *Porco*, neere vnto *Gualpa* of *Chumbibilca*, perceved one day that he made a refining, and that his wedges and brickes were greater then such as were vsually made in those places: and also increasing in his expence of apparrell, having till then lived but basely. For this reason, and for that the mettall his neighbour refined was different from that of *Porco*, he thought to discover this secret, and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet thorow importunitie he was forced to carry him vnto the

discovred by chance

rocke

rocke of *Potozi*, having enioyed this rich treasure full two months. And then *Gualpa* the Indian willed *Guanca* for his part to take a veine, which he had discovered neare to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of *Diego Centeno*, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to drawe foorth; and so by agreement they divided betweene them the richest rocke in the world. It chaunced after, the Indian *Guanca* finding some difficulty to digge and drawe foorth his mettall, being most hard, and the other *Gualpa* refusing to impart any of his mine vnto him, they fell at debate; so as *Guanca* of *Xaura* grieved therewith, and with some other discontents, discovered this secret vnto his maister called *Villaroel* a Spaniard, who then remained at *Porco*. This *Villaroel* desirous to vnderstand the trueth, went to *Potozi*, & finding the riches his *Yanacona* or servant had discovered vnto him, caused the Indian *Guanca* to be inrolled, vndertaking with him the saide veine, which was called *Centeno*, they call it vndertaking, that is as much as to note and marke the mine, and so much ground in circuite for him; which the Lawe graunts vnto those that discover any mine, or vnto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, having discovered them to the Iustice, they remayned Lords of the mine, to dig and drawe foorth the silver, as being their owne, paying only their duties vnto the King, which is a fift parte. So as the first discovery and inregistring of the mines of *Potozi* was the 21. of April, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred fortie five in the territorie of *Porco*, by the saide *Villaroel* a Spaniard, and *Guanca* an Indian. Presently after they discovered another veine, which they called the veine of Tinne, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very pain-

full

full to worke in, the mettall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere of a thousand five hundred forty and five the veine called *Mendieta* was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of *Potozi*. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discovred that the metall lay above the ground the height of a launce, like vnto rockes, raising the superficies of the earth, like vnto a crest of three hundred foote long, and thirteene foote broade, and that this remained bare & vncovered by the deluge. This veine having resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The mettall was so rich as it was halfe silver, and this veine continued in his bounty fiftie or three score stades, which is the height of a man, and then it failed. In this maner the mines of *Potozi* were discovered by the Divine Providence, who (for the felicitie of *Spaine*) would have the greatest treasure that ever was in this world, discovered, at such time whenas the Emperour *Charles* the fift of famous memorie held the Empire, the kingdomes of *Spaine*, and the Seigniorie of the *Indies*. Presently after that, the discoverie of *Potozi* was knowne in *Peru*; many Spaniardes, and the most parte of the Bourgeois of the silver Cittie, which is eighteene leagues from *Potozi*, came thither to take mines: yea there came many Indians from divers provinces, especially tha *Guayzadores* of *Porco*, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the kingdome.

Half silver.

Of the treasure which is daily drawne from the rocke or mountaine of Potozi. Chap. 7.

I Have often doubted, if in antient Histories there were found any so rich mines, as those we have seen

in our time in *Peru*. If there were ever rich mines in the worlde, and famous for this effect, they have bin those of *Spaine*, which they of *Carthage* did inioy, and since, the *Romans*, the which as I have saide, are not onely famous and esteemed in prophane bookes, but also, in the holy Scriptures. Hee that maketh most particular mention of these mines, at the least that I have seene, is *Plinie*, who writeth thus in his naturall Historie: *They finde silver almost in all provinces, but that of* Spaine *is the best, which growes and ingenders in a barren soile, vppon mountaines and rockes. It is a certaine and infallible thing, that in places where they have once discovered any of these veines, there are others not farre off, which is likewise found in all other mettalls, and for this the Greekes, in my opinion, called them mettalls. It is strange that the pits or holes of these mines of* Spaine, *the which they beganne to digge in* Hannibals *time, are at this day, and hold the names of their discoverers. Amongst these mines, that which* Bebello *discovered, which holdes his name vnto this day, was very famous; and they say it yeelded so great riches to* Hanniball, *that everie day they gathered three hundred pounds weight of silver, and vnto this day they have alwaies continued labouring in this mine, so as it is now digd 15. hundred paces deep into the mountaine. Out of which pits, notwithstanding the deapth, the Gascoines that labour in them drawe out the water, that they may worke with more ease, whilest their candelles and lights last, and that in such aboundaunce, as it seemes to be a river*. Hitherto are the woordes of *Pliny*, the which I would set downe word by word, the better to content such as know what mines be, seeing that what is tried at this day, was then in vse. And truely the riches of this mine of *Hannibal* vpon the *Pirrenean* hilles, was great and famous, which the *Romans* possessed, having con-

Plin. lib. 33. c. 6

Genebrard. in Chronograph.

tinued

tinued the worke even vnto *Plinies* time, which was about three hundred yeeres. The deapth of this mine was fifteene hundred paſes, which is a mile and a halfe: and it was ſo rich in the beginning, that it was woorth daily to the maiſter thereof three hundred poundes, at twelve ounces to the pound. But although this were a great treaſure, it did not approach neere to that which in our time hath bin found in *Potozi*: for as it appeareth by the Regiſters of the houſe of contraction of that Province, and as many antient men worthy of credite doe teſtifie, whenas the licentiate *Pollo* governed that Province, the which was many yeeres after the diſcovery of this mountaine, they did every ſaterday enter a hundred and fifty and twoo hundred thouſand peeces, whereof the Kings fift amounted to thirty and forty thouſand peeces; and for every yeere a million and a halfe, or little leſſe. So as according to that computation they didde drawe every day from this mine thirtie thouſand peeces, whereof there came to the King for his fift, ſixe thouſand peeces a day.

pezos.

vn millon y medio

Every peece is worth 13. rialls & a fourth part

There is yet another thing to be ſpoken of, to ſhew the riches of *Potozi*, that the account which hath been made, was only of ſilver that was marked and cuſtomed. And it is wel knowne in *Peru*, that they have long vſed ſilver in theſe Realmes, which they call currant, which was neither marked nor cuſtomed. And they holde it for certain which know theſe mines, that in theſe daies, the greateſt parte of ſilver drawne at *Potozi*, was not cuſtomed, and this had courſe amongeſt the Indians, and much amongſt the Spaniardes, as I have ſeene continued to my time; ſo as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of *Potozi*, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it cuſtomed. There is yet a more notable

consideration, in that which *Plinie* saieth, they hadde digged a fifteene hundred paſes in this mine of *Bebello*; and that continually they found water, which is the greateſt hinderaunce they have to drawe foorth theyr mettall. But in this of *Potozi*, although they have digged two hundred ſtades or heights of a man in deapth; yet did they never finde any water, which is the greateſt happineſſe of this mountaine. But the mines of *Porco*, whoſe mettall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the diſcommoditie of water, which they have found in their worke; for they are two inſupportable labours in ſearching of the mettall; firſt to digge and breake the rockes, and then to drawe out the water all together. The firſt of them, that is, to cut through the rockes, is paine enough; yea very hard and exceſſive: finally, at this day the King receives for his fift yeerely, from the mines of *Potozi*, a million of ſilver, beſides the wealth that growes by quickeſilver, and other royall prerogatives, which is a great treaſure. Some men of iudgement having caſt vp the accomptes, ſay, that what hath beene brought into the cuſtome houſe of *Potozi*, vnto the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand five hundred eighty and five, amounteth vnto a hundred thouſand millions of peeces of eſſay, whereof every Peece is woorth thirteene rialls, and a fourth parte, not reckoning the ſilver which hath bin caried away without cuſtome, or that hath beene entred in other roiall cuſtome houſes, or the ſilver that hath beene wrought in the country, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the firſt Regiſters of Entries are not ſo exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and firſt diſcoveries, they made their receit by *Romans*, ſo great was their aboundance.

But

But by the instructions and remembraunces of *Don Francisco de Toledo* the Viceroy in the yeare of our Saviour Christ, one thousand five hundred seaventy and foure they find seventy and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeare to eighty five inclusive, it appeares by the royall registers, there were thirty five millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Viceroy from *Potozi*, in the yeere I have mentioned, being then in *Peru*; and since the wealth that hath come from *Peru* by ship, hath amounted to much more. In that fleete where I came, in the yeare one thousand five hundred eighty seaven, there were eleven millions transported in the two fleets of *Peru* & *Mexico*, whereof two thirds were in that of *Peru*, and almost the one halfe for the King. I thought good to set this downe particularly, to shew the power which his heavenly Maiestie hath given to the Kings of *Spaine*, heaping so many Crowns and Kingdomes vpon them, who (by the especiall favour of heaven) have ioyned the East with the Weast *Indies*, invironing the whole worlde with their Power. This digression shall serve to shew the riches of *Potozi*, we will now shew how they labour in the mines, and how they refine their mettalls.

anº. 1574.

11. milliones

Re Spaniol.

How they labour in the mines of Potozi.

Chap. 8.

Boetius de consolat.

Boetius complaining of the first inventer of mines, spake well;

Heus primus quis fuit ille,
Auri qui pondera testi.
Gemmásque, latere volentes,
Precioſa pericula fodit?

Alas, who was the first,
So curious and accurst,
Who digged out of the mine,
Mans minde to vndermind,
Heavie weights of golde ore,
Better concealde before:
And pearle crept into ground,
Pale for feare to be found:
Galing gold, wringing rings,
Precious, but perilous things.

Pli. lib. 33. ca. 4 With reason he calleth them precious dangers, for the great labour and perill wherewith they draw out these mettalls, which men so much esteeme. *Plinie* saies, that in *Italie* there are many mines, but the Ancients would not suffer their people to worke in them, onely to preserve the people. They brought these mettalls from *Spaine*, and made the Spaniards labour in the mines as tributaries. The like doth *Spaine* now with the *Indies*, for there remaining many mines of mettall yet in *Spaine*, they will not seeke them, nor suffer any to worke in them, by reason of the inconveniencies which happen daily, but they bring them from the *Indies*, where they digge it with much labour and perill. This rocke of *Potozi*, containes as I have said, foure principall veines, that is, the Rich veine, that of *Centeno*, that of Tinne, and that of *Mendieta*. All these veines are of the East part of the mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The foresaid veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they have six foote, and in the narrowest a spanne bredth. There are others of divers fashions that runne out of the said veines; like as out of the great armes of trees, there commonly

no Potozi . 4

Estaine.

sprowt

sprowt foorth lesse. Everie veine hath divers mines which are partes and portions of the same, distinct and divided betwixt divers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great mine containes foure-scoore yardes, neither may it be more by the law, and the least containes foure. All these mines are at this day very deepe. In the rich mine they reckon 78. mines, which are 80. yards deep, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of *Centeno*, are 24. mines, whereof some are 70. or 80. stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they have invented mines, which they call *Soccabones*, which are caves or ventes made at the foote of the mountaine, the which go crossing til they incounter with the veines: for wee must vnderstand, that although the veines runne North to South, as hath been said, yet is it in declining from the toppe to the foote of the mountaine, which may be as they beleeve by coniecture, above twelve hundred stades. And by this account, although the mines extend in such a profunditie, yet there remaines six times as much space vnto the bottome or roote, the which they say, are most rich and aboundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although vnto this day we have seene the contrary by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then invented the *Soccabons*, by which they enter to worke in the mines very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They have eight foote in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their mettall very easily,

80. barras.

Soccabon.

paying to the proprietary of the *Soccabon*, the fift part of all the mettall they draw forth. There are nine already made, and others are begunne. They were twenty and nine yeeres in making of one *Soccabon*, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begunne in the yeere 1550. the eleventh yeere of the discoverie, and was ended in the yeere 1585. the eleventh of August. This *Soccabon* crossed the rich veine thirtie five stades from the roote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the mine, were a hundred thirty five stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the mine. This *Soccabon* containes from his mouth vnto the veine of *Crusero* as they call it, 250. yardes, in which worke were spent twentie nine yeeres, whereby wee may see what great paines men take to draw silver out of the bowells of the earth. They labour in these mines in continuall darkenes and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are never visited with the Sunne; there is not onely continuall darkenes, but also an extreame colde, with so grosse an aire contrary to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke, as they at sea. The which happened to me in one of these mines, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, vse candles to light them, dividing their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The mettall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flintes. After they carry vp this mettall vpon their shoulders, by ladders of three branches, made of neates lether twisted like peeces of wood, which are crossed with staves of wood;

wood, so as by every one of these ladders they mount and discend together. They are ten stades long a peece: and at the end of one, beginnes another of the same length, every ladder beginning and ending at platformes of wood, where there are seates to rest them, like vnto galleries, for that there are many of these ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two *Arrobes* of mettall vpon his shoulders, tied together in a cloth in maner of a skippe, and so mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is said,) they have no light from heaven, and so go they vp the ladder holding it with both their handes, to mount so great a height, which commonly is above a hundred & fiftie stades: a fearefull thing, and which breeds an amazement to thinke vpon it, so great is the desire of silver, that for the gaine thereof, men indure any paines. And truly it is not without reason, that *Plinie* treating of this subiect, exclaimes and saies thus, *We enter even into the bowells of the earth, and go hunting after riches, even to the place of the damned.* And after in the same booke he saieth: Those that seeke for mettalls, performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caves in the depth of the earth, piercing mountaines so deepe by the light of candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they see no day. So as, often the walles of their mines fal, smothering many of them that labour therein. And afterwardes he addes, *They pierce the hard rocke with hammers of yron, waying* 150 *poundes, and draw out the mettall vpon their shoulders, labouring day and night, one delivering his charge to another, and all in darkenes, onely the last sees the light: with wedges and hammers they breake the*

Ladders.

Every Arobe is 25. pound.

150 stados. Sadans.

Plin. in proem. lib. 33. cap. 6.

the flintes, how hard and strong soever, for the hunger of gold is yet more sharpe and strong. This *Plinie* saies, who although he speakes as a historiographer of that age, yet doth he seeme to prophecie of this time. Neither is it lesse which *Phocion* of *Agatharchides* reports of the great travell they indure, whom they called *Chrysios*, in drawing out of golde: for as the said Author saieth, gold and silver are as painefull to digge and drawe forth, as they are pleasing to possesse.

How they refine the Mettall of Silver Chap. 9.

The Veines as I have said, where they finde silver, runnes betwixt two rockes, which they call the Chase, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the other soft and easie to breake. This mettall is not alwaies equal, and of the same bountie, for you shall finde in one and the same veine, one sort of mettall very rich, which they call *Cacilla*, or *Tacana*, from which they draw much silver; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The most rich mettall of this mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other somewhat red, and other of the colour of ashes: finally of divers and sundrie coloures, which seeme to such as know them not, to be stones of no value. But the miners do presently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine signes and small veines they finde in them. They carry all this mettall they drawe out of these mines, vpon Indian sheepe, which serve them as Asses to carry it to the milles, the richest mettall is refined by melting in those small furnaces, which they call *Guayras*, for that is most leadie; by reason whereof, it is most subiect

subiect to melt, & for the better melting therof, th'*Indians* cast in a matter, they call *Soroche*, which is a mettal ful of lead. The mettal being in these furnases, the filth and earthie drosse, through the force of the fire, remaines in the bottome, and the silver and lead melt; so as the silver swimmes vpon the lead, vntill it be purified; then after they refine the silver many times, after this maner of melting. They have vsually drawne out of one quintall of mettall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie peeces of silver, and yet I have seene some most excellent, that have bin shewne me, where they have drawne in the melting two hundred, yea, two hundred and fiftie peeces of silver of a quintall of mettall; a rare wealth, and almost incredible, if we had not seene the tryall thereof by fire, but such mettalls are verie rare. The poorest mettall is that which yeeldes two, three, five, or six peeces, or little more. This mettall hath commonly little lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot refine it with fire. And for this reason in *Potozi*, there was great store of these poore mettalls, whereof they made no great account, but were reiected like straw, and as the skumme of the good mettall, vntill they found meanes to refine it by quicke-silver, whereby the skumme they called *Oquiache* was of great profit, for the quicke-silver by a strange and wonderfull propertie, purifies the silver, and is apt for these mettalls which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse quicke-silver then in the richer: for the richer they are, the more neede of quicke-silver they have. At this day the most vsuall maner of refining in *Potozi*, is by quicke-silver, as also in the mines of *Cacatecas*, and others of new *Spaine*. There were in old time vpon the sides and toppes of *Potozi*, above six thousand *Guayras*, which

250 pezos

quick-silver.

fornaces.

are

are ſmall furnaces where they melt their mettall, the which were placed like lightes, (a pleaſant ſight to behold by night,) caſting a light a farre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not above two thouſand, for that (as I have ſaid,) they vſe little melting, but refine it by quicke-ſilver, the which is the greateſt profit. And for that the properties of quicke-ſilver are admirable, and that this maner of refining of ſilver is remarkable, I will diſcourſe of quicke-ſilver, of the mines and worke, and what is requiſite for that ſubiect.

Of the wonderfull properties of Quicke-ſilver.

CHAP. 10.

QVickeſilver, ſo called by the Latines, for that it runnes and ſlides ſuddenly from place to place, amongſt all other mettalls hath great and wonderfull vertues. The firſt is, although it be a true mettall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor ſubſiſtance like to other mettalls, but is liquide, not like vnto gold and ſilver molten, but of his owne proper nature, and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heavie then any other mettall: and therefore all others ſwim above and ſinke not to the bottome, being more light. I have ſeene two poundes of yron put into a barrell of quicke-ſilver, the which did ſwimme about like vnto wood or corke vpon the water. *Plinie* gives an exception heerevnto, ſaying, that gold alone doth ſinke and not ſwimme above it. I have not ſeene the experience, but it may be this growes, by reaſon that quicke-ſilver by nature doth inviron gold, and covers it, which is one of the moſt important properties it hath, for it

Plin. lib. 33. ca. 6

ioynes

ioynes with gold in a ſtrange maner, it ſeekes it where it lies, and invirons it in ſuch ſort, as it doth diſtinguiſh and ſeperate it from any other body or mettall wherewith it is mixt: for this reaſon ſuch take gold as will preſerve themſelves from the dangerrs and diſcommodities of quicke-ſilver. They have vſed a remedie to thoſe (in whoſe eares they had put quicke-ſilver, to cauſe them to die ſecretly,) to put little plates of gold into their eares, (for that gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie,) and after they drew out theſe plates all white with the quicke-ſilver, it did ſticke vnto them. Being one day at *Madril*, I went to ſee the exquiſite workes which *Iacomo de Treco*, (a rare worke-man of *Milan*,) made for S. *Laurence* the *Roiall*, it was my hap to be there one day, whenas they gilded certaine peeces of a countertable of braſſe, which is done with quicke-ſilver; and for that the fume of Mercurie is mortall, he told me that the worke-men preſerved themſelves from this venome, by ſwallowing a double duckat of gold roled vp; the which being in the ſtomacke, drawes vnto it all the quicke-ſilver that enters in fume by the eares, eyes, noſtrilles, and mouth, and by this meanes freed themſelves from the danger of quicke-ſilver, which the gold gathered in the ſtomacke, and after caſt out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the quicke-ſilver hath purified and purged gold from all other mettalls and mixtures, he is likewiſe ſeperated from the golde his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quicke-ſilver. *Plinie* ſaies, that by a certaine art and invention they did ſeperate gold from quicke-ſilver. It ſeemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine ſilver by quicke-ſilver, which at this day is the greateſt vſe, and

Plin. lib. 33. c. 6

chiefe

chiefe profite of quickesilver; for that he saies plainely, that quickesilver ioynes with no other mettall but with gold; and when he makes mention of refining of silver, he speakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that the Ancients had no knowledge of this secret. In truth, though there be a league and simpathie betwixt golde and quicke-silver, yet whereas the mercurie findes no gold, it ioynes with silver, though not in the like maner as with gold; but in the end, it doth clense and purge it from earth, copper, & lead, amongst the which the silver growes, without any neede of fire to melt it: yet must they vse fire to seperate it from the silver, as I will shew hereafter. Quicksilver holds no account of other mettalls, but of golde and silver; but contrariwise it doth corrupt them, force and consume them, and flieth from them as much as may be. The which is likewise admirable, and for this cause they put it in earthen vessells, or in beasts skinnes. For if it be put in vessells of copper, of yron, or other mettall, it presently pierceth and corrupts them. And therefore *Plinie* calleth it the poyson of all things, for that it consumes and spoyles all. We finde quick-silver in the graves of dead men, which after it hath consumed the bodies, comes foorth pure and whole. There hath beene likewise found in the bones and marrow of men and beasts, who having received it in fume by the mouth and nosthrills, congeales within them and pierceth even vnto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent so perillous and mortall a creature. It hath an other propertie, which is, to runne and make a hundred thousand small droppes, whereof not one is lost, be they never so little, but they returne every way to their liquor. It is almost incorruptible, having no-

thing

thing in a maner that may consume it. And therfore *Plinie* calles it the eternall sweate. It hath yet another propertie, that although it dooth separate gold from copper, and all other mettalles, yet they that will guilde copper, brasse, or silver, vse quicke-silver as the meanes of this vnion; for with the helpe thereof they guilde mettalls. Amongest all the woonders of this strange liquor that seemes to me most woorthy observation, that although it be the weightiest thing in the worlde, yet is it converted into the lightest of the worlde, which is smoake, and sodainely the same smoake which is so light a thing, turnes againe into so heavy a substance, as is the proper liquor of quicke-silver, whereinto it is dissolved; for this smoake incountering the mettall on high, being a solide bodie, or comming into a colde region, sodainely it thickens and is converted into quickesilver, and if you set him once againe to the fire, hee dooth likewise returne into smoake, to be resolved againe into quicke-silver. A strange transmutation of so heavy a substance into so light a thing; and of so light into so heavy, the which we may hold for a rare thing in Nature. And therfore the Author of Nature is iustly to be glorified in these and all other strange properties of this mettall, seeing that all things created doe properly obey their secret and vnknowne lawes.

Of the place where they finde quicke-silver, and how they discovered these rich mines in Guancavilca. Chap. 11.

QVicke-silver is found in a kinde of stone, which dooth likewise yeelde Vermillion, which the Antients

tients called *Minium*, and at this day they call the Images of cristall miniades, which are painted with quicksilver. The Antients made great accompt of this *Minium* or vermillion, holding it for a sacred colour, as *Plinie* reportes, saying, that the *Romans* were accustomed to paint the face of *Iupiter*, and the bodies of those that triumphed in *Ethiopia*: yea their idolles and their Governors likewise had their faces coloured with this *Minium*. And this vermillion was so esteemed at *Rome*, (which they brought onely from *Spaine*, where they had many pittes and mines of quickesilver, which continue there to this day) that the *Romans* suffered it not to be refined in *Spaine*, lest they should steale some of it, but they carried it to *Rome*, sealed vp in a masse as they drew it out of the mine. and after refined it. They did yeerely bring from *Spaine*, especially from *Andalusie*, about tenne thousand pound weight, which the *Romans* valued as an infinite treasure. I have reported all this out of that Author, to the end that those which doe see what passeth at this day in *Peru*, may have the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mighties Lords of the world. I speake for the *Ingues* kings of *Peru*, and for the naturall Indians thereof, which have laboured and digged long in these mines of quicke-silver, not knowing what quicke-silver was, seeking onely for *Cinabrium* or vermillion, which they call *Limpi*, the which they esteeme much, for that same effect that *Plinie* reportes of the *Romans* and *Ethiopians*, that is, to paint the face and bodies of themselves and their idolls: the like hath been much practised by the Indians, especially when they went to the warres, and vse it at this day in their feasts and dauncing, which they call slubbering, supposing that their faces and visages so slubbered,

red, did much terrifie, and at this day they holde it for an ornament and beautifying; for this cause there were strange workes of mines in the mountaines of *Guancavilca*, which are in *Peru*, neere to the cittie of *Guamangua*, out of the which they drew this mettal, it is of such a manner, that if at this day they enter by the caves or *Soccabones*, which the Indians made in those dayes, they loose themselves, finding no passage out: but they regarded not quicke-silver, which naturally is in the same substance or mettall of vermillion, neither hadde they knowledge of any such matter.

The Indians were not alone for so long a time without the knowledge of this treasure, but likewise the Spaniards, who vntill the yeare of the incarnation of our Saviour, one thousand five hundred three score and six, and threescore and seaven (at such time as the licentiate *Castro* governed in *Peru*) discovered not the mines of quicke-silver, which happened in this manner. A man of iudgement called *Henrique Guarçes*, a Portugall borne, having a peece of this coloured mettall, as I have saide, which the Indians call *Limpi*, with which they paint their faces, as hee beheld it well, found it to be the same which they call Vermillion in *Castille*; and for that hee knew well that vermillion was drawne out of the same mettall that quickesilver was, hee coniectured these mines to be of quickesilver, went to the place whence they drew this mettall, to make triall thereof. The which hee found true, and in this sorte the mines of *Palcas* in the territorie of *Guamangua*, being discovered, great nnmbers of men went thither to drawe out quickesilver, and so to carry it to *Mexico*, where they refine silver by the meanes of quickesilver, wherewith many are inriched. This country of mines which

an°. 1566. quik discouered!

they call *Guancavilca*, was then peopled with Spaniards and Indians that came thither, and come ſtill to worke in theſe mines of quicke-ſilver, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all theſe mines, that which they call *d'Amador de Cabrera*, or of Saintes, is goodly and notable. It is a rocke of moſt hard ſtone, interlaced all with quickeſilver, and of that greatneſſe, that it extendes above foure ſcore *Varres* or yardes in length, and forty in breadth; in which mine they have many pittes and ditches, of three ſcore and tenne ſtades deepe, ſo as three hundred men may well worke together; ſuch is the capacity thereof. This mine was diſcovered by an Indian of *Amador* of *Cabrera*, called *Navincopa* of the village of *Acoria*; the which *Amador* of *Cabrera* cauſed to be regiſtred in his name. He was in ſurte againſt the Procurer fiſcall, but the vſufruite was adiudged to him by ſentence as the diſcoverer. Since he ſolde his intereſt to another, for two hundred and fifty thouſaud ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceived in the ſale, he commenced an action againſt the buyer, being worth, as they ſay, above five hundred thouſand ducats; yea, ſome holde it to be worth a million of golde: a rare thing to ſee a mine of that wealth.

Whenas *Don Franciſco* of *Toledo* governed in *Peru*, there was one which had bin in *Mexico*, and obſerved how they refined ſilver with mercury, called *Pero Fernandes de Valeſco*, who offred to refine ſilver at *Potozi*, with mercury; and having made triall thereof in the yeare of our redemption, one thouſand five hundred ſeaventy and one, perfourmed it with credite; then beganne they to refine ſilver at *Potozi* with quickſilver, which they tranſported from *Guancavelicqua*, which

was

was a goodly helpe for the mines; for by the meanes of quickesilver they drew an infinite quantity of mettal from these mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called scrapings. For as it hath beene said, the quickesilver purifies the silver, although it be drie, poore, and of base alloy, which can not be doone by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it quickesilver mines, without any charge or hazard, almost foure hundred thousand peeces of a mine, the which are foureteene rialls a peece, or little lesse, besides the rights that rise in *Potozi*, where it is imployed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearely, one with another, drawe from these mines of *Guancavilca*, eight thousand quintalls of quickesilver, yea and more.

1. peso. real.

The maner how to drawe out Quicke-silver, and how they refine Silver. CHAP. 12.

LEt vs now speake how they draw out Quicke-silver, and how they refine Silver therewith. They take the stone or mettall where they finde the quickesilver, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, so as this mettall or stone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the quickesilver seperates it selfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and sometimes even with the smoake of the fire, vntill it incounters some body where it staies and congeales, and if it passe vp higher, without meeting of any hard substance, it mountes vp vntill it be colde; and then congeled, it falles downe againe. When the melting is finished, they vnstoppe the pottes and draw forth the mettall, sometimes staying vntill it be very cold, for if

there remained any fume or vapor, which should incounter them that vnstopt the pottes, they were in danger of death, or to be benummed of their limbes, or at the least, to loose their teeth. And for that they spend an infinite quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettalls. A Miller called *Rodrigo de Tores*, found out a profitable invention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those mountaines of *Peru*, the which they call *Ycho*, it is like vnto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to melt and dissolve these mettalls, the which falles out, as *Plinie* saies, that there is gold which melts more easily with the flame of straw, then with hote burning coales. They put the quicke-silver thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepes best in lether, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-howse, from whence they carry it by sea to *Ariqua*, and so to *Potozi* by land vpon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in *Potozi* for the refining of mettalles, about six or seven thousand quintalles of quicke-silver, besides that they drawe from the plates, (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these mettalls, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the quicke-silver which remaines in them: and there are above fiftie of these furnaces in the Citie of *Potozi*, and in *Tarpaya*. The quantitie of mettalls which they refine, (as some men of experience have made the account,) doth amount yeerely to above three hundred thousand quintalles, from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yeerely above two thousand quintalles of quick-silver. We must vnderstand there are divers sortes of mettalls,

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4

for

for some yeelde much silver, and waste little quicke-silver; others consume much quicke-silver, and yeelde little silver; and there are others which consume much quicke-silver, and yeeldes much silver; and others that consume little quicke-silver, and also yeelde little silver; and as men incounter in these mettalles, so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich mettall yeeldes much silver, and consumes much quicke-silver; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little silver, and consumes as little mercurie. They first beat and grinde the mettall very small, with hammers and other instruments, which beat this stone like vnto tanne milles, and being well beaten, they searce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintalles in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the mettall into the vessels vpon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to everie fiftie quintalles of poulder, five quintalls of salt. And this they do for that the salt seperates the earth and filth, to the end the quicke-silver may the more easily draw the silver vnto it. After they put quicke-silver into a peece of holland and presse it out vpon the mettall, which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the mettall, to the end it may be well incorporate. Before the invention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their mettall with quicke-silver, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mix it, and stirre it againe, vntill they thought all the quicke-silver were well incorporate with the silver, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discovered (as the desire to get is diligent,)

that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate silver the sooner with quicke-silver, they inventedthese furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their mettall, with salt and quicke-silver, and vnderneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce vnderneath; so as in five or six daies the quicke-silver is incorporare with the silver. And when they finde that the mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the silver, leaving nothing behinde, but is well imbrued as a spunge doth water, dividing it from the earth, lead, and copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seperate it likewise from the quicke-silver, the which they do in this sort; they put the mettall in caldrons, and vessells full of water, where with certaine wheeles they turne the mettall round about, as if they should make mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the mettall with the water that runs away: The silver & quicke-silver as most ponderous remaining in the botome; the mettal which remaines, is like vnto sand: then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, vntill they leave the silver and quicke-silver well clensed. There slippes away also some small portion of silver and quicke-silver with the earth and drosse, which they call washings, the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the silver and quicke-silver are clensed and beginne to shine, and that there remaines no earth, they put all the mettall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the quicke-silver passeth out, being not incorporate with the silver, and the rest remaines as a loafe of silver, like to a marke of almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the

Separation.

remaine.

the remainder containes but the sixt part in silver, and five in mercurie. So as if there remaines a marke of threescore pounds, ten are of silver, and fiftie of mercurie. Of these markes they make pinnes, (as they call them,) like pine apples, or sugar loaves, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to seperate the silver from the quicke-silver, they put it into a violent fire, which they cover with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a sugar loafe, or vnto a capuchon or hoode, the which they cover with coales, and set fire vnto it; whereby the quicke-silver exhales in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of earth, it thickens and distills, like vnto the smoake of a potte covered; and by a pipe like vnto a limbecke, they receive the quicke-silver which distills, the silver remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminished five partes of that it was, and is spungious, the which is worthy the observation. Of two of these loaves they make one barre of silver, in weight 65. or 66. markes: and in this sort they carry it to the touch, custome, and marke. Silver drawne with mercurie, is so fine, that it never abates of two thousand three hundred and fourescore of alloy, and it is so excellent, that the worke-men are inforced to alay it, putting some mixture to it, as they do likewise in their mints, whereas their mony is stampt. Silver indures all these martiredomes, (if we may so call it,) to be refined, the which if we consider well, it is a bodie framed where they grinde, sift, kneade, lay the leven, & bake the silver: besides all this, they wash it and wash it againe, they bake it and bake it againe, induring the pestells, sives, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, presses: and finally, by the water and fire. I speake this, for that see-

separation.

1. marke, 16 8. onaces.

Pure fine.

seeing this art in *Potozi*, I did consider what the Scripture speakes of the iust, *Colabit eos et purgabit quasi argentum*: And that which they speake in another part, *Sic vt argentum purgatum terra, purgatum septuplum*. So as to purifie silver, to refine and clense it from the earth and stone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it seven times: for in effect it passeth their handes seven times, yea, oftener, vntill it remaines pure and fine; so is it in the word of God, where the soules must be so purified, that shall inioy the heavenly perfection.

Mat. 3. Eccles. 2. Psal. 11

Of their Engines to grinde the mettall, and of their triall of Silver. CHAP. 13.

TO conclude, this subiect of silver and of mettalls, there remaines yet two things to speake of, the one is of their engins and milles, the other of their essay or triall: I have said before, how they grinde their mettal: for the receving of the quicksilver, which is done with diverse instruments and engins, some with horses like vnto hand-milles, others like water-milles; of which two sortes there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe vse commonly, is but of raine, whereof they have not sufficient but three months in the yeare, December, Ianuary, and February: for this reason they have made Lakes and standing Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thousand and six hundred roddes, and in deapth three stades; there are seaven with their sluces: so as when they have neede of any water, they raise vp a sluce, from whence runnes a little streame of water, the which they stoppe vppon holy-dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare

raigne

abounds

abounds with raine, their grinding dooth then continue sixe or seaven moneths; so as even for silvers sake men desire a good yeere of raine in *Potozi*, as they doe in other places for bread. There are some other engins in *Tarapaya*, which is a valley three or foure leagues distant from *Potozi*, whereas there runnes a river as in other parts. The difference of these engins is, that some goe with sixe pestels, some with twelve, and others with foureteene. They grinde and beate the mettall in morters, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be sifted, vpon the bankes of the brooke of *Potozi*. There are forty eight water-mills, of eight, ten, and twelve pestells, and foure on the other side, which they call *Tanacognugno*; in the Cittie of *Tarapaya*, there are two and twenty engins all vpon the water; besides there are thirty goe with horses in *Potozi*, and many others in divers partes, so great the desire of man is to get silver, which is tryed by deputies appoynted by the King.

pestels. milles.

To give the alloy to every peece, they cary the bars of silver vnto the Assay maister, who gives to every one his number, for that they carry many at once, he cuttes a small peece of every one, the which he weighs iustly, and puttes them into a cruset, which is a small vessell made of burnt bones beaten; after hee placeth everie crusible in his order in the furnace, giving them a violent fire, then the mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into smoake, and the copper and tinne dissolves, the silver remayning most fine, of the colour of fire. It is a strange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquide and molten, yet it never spilles, were the mouth of the crusible turned downewardes; but it remayneth fixed, without the losse of a droppe.

assaige.

The

Assay master. The Assay maister knoweth by the colour and other signes, when it is refined, then dooth he draw the crusibles from the fire, and weighs every peece curiously, obserue what every one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, wastes but little, and that which is baser, diminisheth much; & according to the waste, he sees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes every barre punctually. Their ballaunce and weights are so delicate, and their graines so small, as they cannot take them vppe with the hand, but with a small paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle light, that no ayre might moove the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie, which the holy Scripture vseth in many places, to shew how God prooves his chosen: and to note the differences of the merites of soules, whereas God gives the title of an Assay-maister to the Prophet *Ieremie*, that hee may trie and declare the spirituall vertue of men, and of his workes, which is the proper worke of the Spirite of God, being he that weighs the Soules of men. We will rest content with what we have spoken touching silver, mettalls and mines, and will passe to the two other mixtures, the which are plants and beasts.

Alloy, is fine.

Psal.65.
Prover. 17.27.

Ierem.6.
Prover.1.

Of Emeraldes. Chap. 14.

IT shall not be from the purpose, to speake somthing of Emeraldes, both for that it is a pretious thing, as golde & silver, as also for that they take their beginning from mines and mettalls, as *Plinie* reportes. The Emerald hath bin in old time in great esteeme, as the same

Pli.lib.37.ca.3

Author

Author writes, giving it the third place amongst all iewelles and pretious stones, that is next to the diamond and pearle. At this day they doe not so much esteeme the Emerald, nor the pearle, for the great aboundance is brought of these two sorts from the *Indies*, onely the diamond holds the principality, the which can not be taken from it. Next, the rubies come in price and other stones, which they hold more pretious than the Emerald. Men are so desirous of singularities & rare things, that what they see to be common, they do not esteeme. They report of a Spaniard, who being in *Italie* when the *Indies* were first discovered, shewed an Emerald to a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he had well viewed it, being of an excellent lustre and forme, he prized it at a hundred ducats: he then shewed him an other greater than it, which he valued at three hundred ducats. The Spaniard drunke with this discourse, carried him to his lodging, shewing him a casket full. The Italian seeing so great a number of Emeralds, sayde vnto him, Sir, these are well woorth a crowne a peece: the like hath happened both at the *Indies* and in *Spaine*, where the stones have lost their estimation, for the great abundaunce they finde of them there.

Pliny reportes many excellencies of the Emerald, amongst the which he saith, that there is nothing more pleasing, nor more healthfull for the sight; wherein he hath reason, but his authority importeth little, seeing there is such store. It is reported that *Lelia* a Romane Dame bestowed vppon a scoffion and a garment embroidered with pearle and emerald 400000. ducats, the which at this day might be doone with lesse than forty thousand ducats; yea two such. In diverse partes of the *Indies*, *Plin.lib.37.c.5* *Plin.lib.9.c.35*

Indies, and the Kings of *Mexico*, didde much esteeme them; some did vse to pierce their nosthrils, and hang therein an excellent Emerald: they hung them on the visages of their idolles. The greatest store is found in the New Kingdome of *Grenado*, and *Peru*, neere vnto *Manta* and port *Vieil*. There is towardes that place a soile which they call, the Land of Emeraldes, for the knowledge they have of aboundance to be there: and yet vnto this day they have not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in stones like vnto cristall; I have seene them in the same stone, fashioned like a veine, and they seeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I have seene some that were halfe white, and halfe greene; others all white, and some greene and very perfite. I have seene some of the bigneſſe of a nut, and there have bin some greater found: but I have not knowen that in our time they have found any of the form and bigneſſe of the platt or iewel they have at *Genes*, the which they esteeme (and with reason) to be a iewell of great price, and no relique; yet without comparison, the Emerald which *Theophrastus* speakes of, which the King of *Babilon* presented to the King of *Egypt*, surpasseth that of *Genes*; it was foure cubites long, and three broade, and they say, that in *Iupiters* Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds stones of forty cubits long, and in some places foure broade, and in others two: and that in his time there was in *Tir* in *Hercules* Temple, a pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as *Plinie* saieth) it was of some greene stone, somewhat like to the Emerald, and they called it a false Emerald. As some will say, that in the Cathedrall Church of *Cordoüe* there are certaine pillars of Emeraldes which remaine since it was a Mesquite for the Kings *Miramamolins*

molins Moores, which raigned there. In the fleete, the yeare one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, in the which I came from the *Indies*, they brought twoo chests of Emeraldes, every one weighing at the least foure *Arobes*, whereby wee may see the aboundaunce they have. The holy Scripture commends these Emeralds as pretious iewells, they number them amongest the pretious stones, which the hie Priest carried on his Ephod or breast-plate, as those which did beautifie the walles of the heavenly *Ierusalem*. *Exod.* 29.39. *Apoc.* 21.

Of Pearles. Chap. 15.

NOw that we intreat of the great riches that comes from the *Indies*, it were no reason to forgette the Pearle, which the Ancients called *Marguerites*, and at the first were in so great estimation, as none but royall persons were suffered to weare them: but at this day there is such aboundance as the Negres themselves do weare chaines thereof; they growe in shells or oysters, in eating whereof I have found pearles in the middest of them: These oisters within are of the colour of heaven, very lively. In some places they make spoones, the which they call mother of Pearle. The pearles do differ much in forme, in bignes, figure, colour and polishing; so likewise in their price they differ much. Some they call *Ave Mariaes*, being like the small graines of beades; others are *Pater nosters*, being bigger. Seldome shall you finde two of one greatnesse, forme, and colour. For this reason the Romans (as *Pliny* writeth) called them *Vnions*. Whenas they doe finde two that are alike in all poyntes, they raise the price much, especially for eare-rings. *Plin. lib.* 3 *c.* 35

rings. I have seene some payres valued at thousands of ducats, although they were not like to *Cleopatraes* two pearles, whereof *Pliny* reportes, either of them being woorth a hundred thousand ducats, with the which this fooliſh Queene wonne a wager ſhe hadde made againſt *Marc Anthony*, to ſpend in one ſupper above an hundred thouſand ducats; ſo at the laſt courſe ſhee diſſolved one of theſe pearles in ſtrong vineger, & dranke it vp. They ſay the other pearle was cutt in two, and placed in the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, at th'eares of the image of *Venus*. *Eſope* reportes of *Clovis* the ſonne of a Comedian, who in a banquet preſented to every one of his gheſts (amongeſt other meates) a rich pearle diſſolved in vineger, to make his feaſt the more royall and ſumptuous.

Theſe were the follies of thoſe ages, and thoſe at this day are nothing leſſe, for that we ſee, not onely hattes and bandes, but alſo buskins, and womens pantofles, (yea of baſe condition) imbrodred all over with pearle. They fiſh for pearles in diverſe partes of the *Indies*, the greateſt aboundaunce is in the ſouth Seas, neere vnto *Panama*, where the Ilandes of pearles be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greateſt ſtore, and the beſt, in the north Sea, the which is neare to the rive of *Hatch*. I did ſee them make their fiſhing, the which is done with great charge & labor of the poore ſlaves, which dive ſixe, nine, yea twelve fadomes into the ſea, to ſeeke for oyſters, the which commonly are faſtened to the rockes and gravell in the Sea, they pull them vp, and bring them above the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treaſure they have within them. The water of the Sea in this parte is verie colde, but yet the labor and toile is greateſt in holding

of

of their breath, ſometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being vnder the water at their fiſhing. And to the end theſe poore ſlaves may the better continue and holde their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in ſmall quantitie, ſo as covetouſneſſe makes them abſtaine and faſt thus againſt their willes. They imploy their pearles to diverſe workes, and they pierce them to make chaines, whereof there is great ſtore in every place. In the yeere of our Lorde one thouſand five hundred eighty one I did ſee the note of what came from the *Indies* for the King, there were eighteen maces of pearle, beſides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelve hundred threeſcore and foure marks, and beſides them, ſeaven caskets not pierced, which heeretofore we would have eſteemed and helde for a lie.

Of the Indian Bread, and of Mays. Chap. 16.

IN our diſcourſe of Plants, wee will beginne with thoſe which are proper and peculiar to the *Indies*; and after with the reſt that are common to the *Indies* and *Europe*; and foraſmuch as plants were chiefly created for the nouriſhment of man, and that the chiefe (whereof he takes his nouriſhment,) is bread, it ſhall be good to ſhew what bread the Indians vſe, and whereon they live for want thereof. They have (as we have heere,) a proper name, whereby they note and ſignifie bread, which at *Peru*, they call *Tanta*, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and ſubſtance of the bread the Indians vſe, differs much from ours: for we finde not they had any kinde of wheat or barly, nor

nor any other kinde of graine which they vse in *Europe* to make bread withall: insteede whereof they vsed other kindes of graines and rootes, amongst the which Mays holds the first place, and with reason, in *Castile* they call it Indian wheat, and in *Italie* they call it Turkey graine. And even as wheat is the most common graine for the vse of man, in the regions of the old world, which are *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrike*: So in the new found worlde, the most common graine is Mays, the which is found almost in all the kingdomes of the West *Indies*, as at *Peru*, new *Spaine*, in the new kingdome of *Granado*, in *Gautimalla*, in *Chille*, and vpon the maine land. I do not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of *Barlovente*, as *Cuba S. Dominique*, *Iamaique*, and S. *Iean*, that they vsed Mays: at this day they vse much *Yuca* and *Cacavi*, whereof we will presently intreate. I do not thinke that this *Mays* is any thing inferiour to our wheat, in strength nor substance, but it is more hote and grosse, and engenders more bloud, wherevpon they that have not bin accustomed therevnto, if they eat too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes vpon canes or reedes; every one beares one or two grapes or branches, to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof, so as in some clusters I have told seven hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one, and not very thicke; it desires a hote and moist ground, and growes in great aboundance in many places of the *Indies*. It is not strange in those countries to gather 300. *Fanegues* or measures for one sowen. There is difference of *Mays* as there is of wheat, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie, which they call *Moroche*; the greene leaves

and

and canes of *Mays*, is a good foode for their mules and horses, and it serves them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for horses then barly; and therefore in those countries, they vse to water their horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate wheat. *Mays* is the Indians bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hote, and they call it *Mote*, as the *Chinois* and *Iopponois* eate their Rice sodden with the hote water; sometimes they eate it baked. There is some *Mays* round and bigge, as that of *Lucanas*, which the Spaniards eate rosted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then *Buarbenses*, or rosted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the *Mays*; and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hote to the table. In some places they call them *Arepas*. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a dainty dish.

They have inuented at the *Indies* (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flowe mixt with sugar, which they call biscuits and mellinders. This Mays serves the Indians, not only for bread, but also for wine: for they do make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke than with wine of grapes. They make this wine of Mays in diverse sortes and maners, calling it in *Peru Acua*, and by the most common name of the *Indies Chicha*. And the strongest is made like vnto beere, steeping the graine vntill it breake. After they boyle it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little ouerthrowes a man. In *Peru* they call this *Sora*, it is defended by the Law, for the

great inconveniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Lawe is ill obſerved, for that they vſe it ſtill; yea they ſpend whole dayes and nights in drinking carowſe. *Pliny* reporteth, that this maner of beverage of graine ſtieped, and after ſodden; wherewith they were drunke, was in old time vſed in *Spaine*, *France* and other Provinces, as at this day in *Flanders* they vſe ale made of mault. There is another maner of making this *Acua* or *Chicha*, which is to champe the mays, and make a leven thereof, and then boile it; yea the *Indians* holde opinion, that to make good leven, it muſt bee champed by old withered women, which makes a man ſicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The cleanlieſt manner, the moſt wholeſome, and that which leaſt harmeth, is to roaſt the Mays, which the moſt civil *Indians* doe vſe, and ſome Spaniardes, yea for phyſicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholeſome drinke for the reines, ſo as you ſhall hardly finde any one at the *Indies* complaine of paine in the backe, for that they do drinke of this *Chicha*. The Spanyards and Indians eate this Mays boyled and roaſted for daintineſſe, when it is tender in the grape like milke, they putte it into the pot, and make ſawces that are good to eate. The buds of Mays are very fatte, and ſerve inſteede of butter and oyle: ſo as this Mays at the *Indies* ſerves both for men and beaſts, for bread, wine, and oile. For this reaſon the Viceroy *Don Franciſco de Toledo* ſaide, that *Peru* hadde two things rich, and of great noriſhment, which were Mays, and the cattell of the countrey. In truth he had reaſon, for theſe two things did ſerve them as a thouſand.

Plin.li.14.c.22.

I will aske ſooner than I can anſwer it, whence *Mays* was firſt carried to the *Indies*, and why they do call this

profita-

profitable graine in *Italie*, *Turkie* graine: for in trueth I doe not finde that the Antients make any mention of this graine, though that mil (that *Plinie* writes to come from the *Indies* into *Italie*, tenne yeares before he didde write it) hath ſome reſemblance vnto Mays, for that it is a graine, as he ſaies, that growes in reede, and covers it ſelfe with the leafe, and hath the toppe like haires, being very fertile; all which things agree not with mill. To conclude, God hath imparted to ev'ry region what is needefull. To this continent he hath given wheate, which is the chiefe nouriſhment of man; and to the Indians he hath given Mays, which hath the ſecond place to wheate, for the nouriſhment of men and beaſts.

Of Yucas, Caçavi, Papas, Chunes, and Ris.
Chap. 17.

IN ſome partes of the *Indies* they vſe a kinde of bread they call *Cacavi*, which is made of a certaine roote they call *Yuca*: This *Yuca* is a great and groſſe roote, which they cutte in ſmall morſells, they grate or ſcrape it, and then put it in a preſſe to ſtraine, making a thinne and broade cake thereof, almoſt like vnto a Moores target or buckler; then doe they drie it, and this is the breade they eate. It hath no taſte, but is healthfull and of good nouriſhment: For this reaſon we ſaid, being at S. *Dominike*, that it was the proper foode for great eaters, for that they might eate much, without any feare of ſurffetting. They muſt of neceſſitie water this *Cacavi* before they eate it: it is ſharpe, and eaſely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it ſwells much, and ſo they make *Capirotades*, but it is

hardly ſtieped in milke, in honny of canes, or in wine, for that theſe liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth bread made of wheate. Of this *Cacavi* there is one kind more delicate than any other, which is that they make of the flower called *Xauxau*, which they do much eſteeme in thoſe partes. For my parte, I eſteeme more a morſell of bread, how hard & black ſoever. It is a ſtrange thing that the iuice or water that commeth from this roote when they ſtraine it, which makes the *Cacavi* is a deadly poiſon, and killes any that drinkes thereof: but the ſubſtance that remaineth, is a very wholeſome bread and nouriſhment, as we have ſaide. There is another kinde of *Yuca*, which they call ſweet, and hath not this poyſon in the iuyce: this is eaten in the roote boyled or roaſted, and is good meate. *Cacavi* will keepe long, and therefore they carry it to ſea in ſteede of biſcuit. The place where they vſe moſt of this bread, is at the Ilands of *Barlovente*, which are S. *Dominicke*, *Cuba*, *Port Ricco*, *Iamaique*, and ſome others thereabouts; for that the ſoile of theſe Ilands will neither beare wheate, nor *Mays*, for whenas they ſowe wheate, it comes vp well, and is preſently greene, but ſo vnequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the ſeede ſowen, at one inſtant, ſome is ſpindled, ſome is in the eare, and ſome doth but bud, one is great and an other little, one is in the graſſe and another in the graine; and although they have carried labourers thither, to ſee if there were any tillage or Art to be vſed, yet could they finde no remedy for the quality of the earth. They carry meale from New *Spaine* or the *Canaries*, which is ſo moiſt, that hardly can they make any profitable bread, or of good taſte. The wafer cakes wherewith they ſay Maſſe, did bend like to wet paper, by reaſon of the extreame humiditie

and

and heate which are ioyntly in that countrey. There is an other extreame contrary to this, which hinders the growing of mais or wheate in some parts of the *Indies*, as on the height of the *Sierre* of *Peru*, and the provinces which they call of *Colao*, which is the greateſt parte of this Realme, where the climate is ſo colde and drie, as it will not ſuffer any of theſe ſeedes to growe: in ſteede thereof the *Indians* vſe an other kinde of roote, which they call *Papas*, theſe rootes are like to grownd nuttes, they are ſmall rootes, which caſt out many leaves. They gather this *Papas*, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it they make that which they call *Chuno*, which keepes many daies, and ſerves for bread. In this realme there is great trafficke of *Chuno*, the which they carry to the mines of *Potozi*: they likewiſe eate of theſe *Papas* boyled or roaſted, there is one ſweete of theſe kindes, which growes in hot places, whereof they do make certaine ſawces and minced meates, which they call *Locro*. To conclude, theſe rootes are the bread of that land, ſo as when the yeare is good, they reioyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, ſo great is the cold of that Region: they carry Mays from the valley or ſea coaſt, and the Spaniardes which are dainty, carrie likewiſe from the ſame places wheate meale, whereof they doe make good breade, becauſe that the land is drie.

In other partes of the *Indies*, as at the *Philippines*, they vſe Rice inſteade of bread, whereof there growes very good, and in great aboundance in all that countrey, and in *China*, and it is of good nouriſhment, they ſeethe it in purcelaines, and after mix it hote with the water amongeſt other meates. In many places they do make their wine and drinke of this Rice, ſteeping, and

then after boyling it, as they do the beere in *Flaunders*, or the *Acua* in *Peru*. Rice is a meate not much lesse common and generall throughout the world, than wheate or mays, and perchaunce more; for besides that they vse it, in *China*, *Ioppon*, and the *Philippines*, and in the greatest parte of the East *Indies*; it is a graine most common in *Affrike* and *Ethiopia*. It requires a wet ground, almost overflowne like to a medow. In *Europe*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, where they have the vse of wheate, they eate Rice as a meate, and not for bread; they seethe it with milke or with broth, or in some other sorte. The most exquisite Rice commeth from the *Philippines* and *China*, as hath beene sayde. And this may suffice to vnderstand what they eate generally at the *Indies* in steade of bread.

Of divers Rootes which growe at the Indies.

Chap. 18.

ALthough in these parts the Land be more abundant and fertile in fruites that growes vpon the earth, by reason of the great diversitie of fruite trees, and plants we have; yet for rootes and other things that grow vnder the earth, the which they vse for meates, in my opinion there is greatest aboundance there: for of these kindes of plants, we have readishes, turneps, parsneps, carrots, liekes, garlike, and some other profitable rootes. But in those countries they have so many divers sortes, as I cannot reckon them; those which I now remember besides *Papas*, which is the principall, there is *Ocas*, *Yanococas*, *Camotes*, *Vatas*, *Xiquimas*, *Yuca*, *Cochucha*, *Cavi*, *Totora*, *Mani*, and an infinite number of other kindes, as the *Patattres*, which they

they eate as a delicate and toothsome meate. They have likewise carried fruites to the *Indies* from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the Indian plants do, brought into *Europe*; the reason in my opinion is, for that there is greater variety of temperatures then in these partes, by meanes whereof, the plants in those regions do rise and prosper better, fitting themselves to the temperature they require. And the rootes and plants which grow there, and were not transported from hence, are better then they be heere; for onions, garlike and parsnips are not in *Spaine*, as they be at *Peru*: and as for turnips, there is so great abundance, as they have increased in some places in such sort, that as they have affirmed to me,) they could not destroy the aboundance which grew vp, for to sowe corne there. Wee have seene redish rootes as bigge as a mans arme, very tender, and of a good taste, and of these rootes I have spoken, some serve for ordinarie meate, as the *Camores*, which being rosted, serve as pulse. There are other rootes that serve them for dainties, as the *Cochucho*; it is a small sweete roote, which some preserve for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as the *Piquima*, which is in qualitie very cold and moist, and in summer it refresheth and quencheth the thirst; but the *Papas* and *Ocas*, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The Indians esteeme garlike above all the rootes of *Europe*, and hold it for a fruite of great force: wherein they want no reason, for that it comforts and warmes the stomacke, for that they eate it with an appetite rawe as it comes out of the ground.

Of divers sortes of greene Hearbes, and Pulses, and of those they call Concombres, Pines, or Pine Apples, small fruites of Chille, *and of Prunes.* CHAP. 19

SEeing wee have begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-hearbes, and that which the Latines call *Arbusta*, without any mention of trees. There are some kindes of these shrubbes at the *Indies*, which are of very good taste. The first Spaniards named many things at the *Indies* with such Spanish names, as they did most resemble, as *Pines*, *Concombres*, and *Prunes*, althogh they be very different fruites to those which are so called in *Spaine*. The Pines, or Pine-aples, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of *Castlle*, but within they wholy differ, for that they have neither aples, nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skinne is off, it is a fruite that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of iuyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morcells, and steeped a while in water and salt. Some say that this breedes choler, and that the vse thereof is not very healthfull. But I have not seene any experience thereof, that might breede beleefe. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaves, like to the lillie, but somewhat bigger. The apple is on the toppe of every cane, it growes in hote and moist groundes, and the best are those of the Ilands of *Barlovente*. It growes not in *Peru*, but they carry them from the *Andes*, the which are neither good nor ripe. One presented one of these Pine-apples, to the Emperour *Charles* the fift,

which

which must have cost much paine, and care to bring it so farre, with the plant from the *Indies*, yet would he not trie the taste. I have seene in new *Spaine*, conserves of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call *Concombres*, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeere. They gave it this name, for that some of this fruite, and the most part, is in length, and roundnes like to the *Concombres* of *Spaine*: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but polliſhed and even, having a very different taste, and farre better then that of *Spaine*, for they have a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie digestion, and in time of heate, fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meat. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them *Concombres*, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashion: so as they have not the figure of *Concombres*. I do not remember to have seene this kinde of fruite in new *Spaine*, nor at the Ilands, but vpon the *Lanos* of *Peru*. That which they call the little fruite of *Chille*, is of the same sort, very pleasant to eate, & comes neere the taste of cheries, but in all other things it differs much: for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreades vpon the earth, casting forth this little fruite, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the mulbery, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the mulbery. They say this little fruite is naturally found in the fieldes of *Chille*, where I have seene of them. They set it vpon plants

and

and branches, and it growes like any other shrubbe. Those which they call Prunes, are verily the fruites of trees, and have more resemblance then the rest to our plumbs. There are divers sorts, whereof they call some Prunes of *Nicaragua*, the which are very red and small, and have little meat vpon the stone, but that little is of an exquisite taste, and of a sharpenes, as good, or rather better then cheries. They hold this fruite to be very holesome, and therefore they give it to sicke folkes, especially to provoke an appetite. There are others that be great and of a darke colour, they have much meat, but it is grosse and of no taste, like to the *Chavacanas*, which have every one two or three small stones. But to returne to pot-hearbs, I finde not that the Indians had any gardins of divers hearbs and plants, but did onely till the land in some partes for pulses, which they vse, as those which they call *Frisolles* and *Palares*, which serve them as our lentils, beanes, or tares: neither have I knowne that these pulses, or any other kinds that be in *Europe*, were there before the Spaniards entred, who carried plants and pulses from *Spaine* thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceede greatly the fertilitie of these partes. As if we speake of mellons which grow in the vallie of *Yuca*, in *Peru*, whose roote becomes a stalke that continues many yeeres carrying mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like vnto a tree; a thing which I do not know to be in any part of *Spaine*. But that is more monstrous of the Calibasses or Indian Pompions, and the greatnes they have as they grow, especially those which are proper to the Countrie, which they call *Capallos*; the which they eate most commonly in Lent, boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are

a thousand kindes of *Calibasses*, some are so deformed in their bignes, that of the rinde cut in the middest and clensed, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meat for their dinner. Of the lesser they make vessells to eate and drinke in, and do trimme them hansomely for many vses. I have spoken this of small plants, wee will now speake of greater; but first of their *Axi*, which is of the lesser.

Of Axi *or* Indian *Pepper.* Chap. 20.

THey have not found at the West *Indies* any kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as pepper, cloves, cinamon, nutmegges or ginger, although one of our company, who had travelled much, and in diverse partes, tolde vs, that in the desarts of the Iland of *Iamaique* he had found trees where pepper grewe. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the *Indies*. The ginger was carried from the *Indies* to *Hispaniola*, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to do with the great aboundaunce they have. In the fleete the yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintalls of ginger to *Seville*: but the naturall spice that God hath given to the weast *Indies*, is that we call in *Castill*, Indian pepper, and in *India*, *Axi*, as a generall worde taken from the first land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of *Cusco*, it is called *Vchu*, and in that of *Mexico*, *Chili*. This plant is well knowne, and therefore I will speake alittle, onely wee must vnderstand, that in olde time it was much esteemd amongst the Indians, which they carried into places where it grew not, as a marchandise

diſe of conſequence. It growes not vpon cold grounds, as on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, but in hote valleis, where it is often watered. There is of this *Axi* of diverſe colours, ſome is greene, ſome red, ſome yellow, and ſome of a burning color, which they call *Caribe*, the which is extreamely ſharpe and biting; there is an other ſort not ſo ſharpe, but is ſo ſweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruit. There is ſome of it very ſmall and pleaſing in the mouth, almoſt like to the ſmell of muske, and is very good. That which is ſharpe and biting in this *Axi*, be the veines and the graine onely; the reſt is not: for that they eate it greene and dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in ſawces, being the chiefe ſawce, and all the ſpice they have at the *Indies*. When this *Axi* is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the ſtomacke for digeſtion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it ſelfe it is very hote, fuming, and pierceth greatly, ſo as the vſe thereof is preiudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefely to the ſoule, for that it provokes to luſt. It is ſtrange, that although the fire and heate of it be well knowne by experience, and that every man ſaies, it burnes in the mouth and the ſtomacke; yet ſome, yea many holde, that the Indian pepper is not hote, but colde, and well tempered. But I might ſay to them, the like ſhould be of pepper; though they brought me as many experiences as they woulde of the one and the other: yet is it a very mockery to ſay it is not hote, ſeeing it is in the higheſt degree. They vſe ſalt to temper this *Axi*, having great force to correct it, and ſo they moderate one with the other by the contrarietie that is in them. They vſe alſo *Tomates*, which are colde and very wholeſome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of iuyce, the which gives a good taſte to

ſawce,

sawce, and they are good to eate. They have generally throughout the *Indies* of this Indian pepper, at the Ilands, new *Spaine*, *Peru*, and all the rest that is discovered. And as mays is the generall graine for bread, so *Axi* is the most common spice for sawces.

Of the Plane tree. CHAP. 21.

COmming to the greater plants or trees at the *Indies*, the first that shall be needefull to treate of, is the Plane or *Platano*, as the vulgar call it. I have been sometimes in doubt, whether the Plane which the Antients have so much celebrated, and that of the *Indies* were of one kinde. This well observed, and that which they write of the other, without all doubt they will appeare to be of sundry kindes. The reason why the Spaniards called it *Plane*, (for the Indians had no such name) was as in other trees, for that they have found some resemblance of the one with the other, even as they called some fruites, prunes, pines, and cucumbers, being far different from those which are called by those names in *Castille*. The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the Planes at the *Indies*, and those which the Antients did celebrate, is the greatnes of the leaves, for that these have them very great and coole, and the Antients did likewise much esteeme them for the greatnesse and coolenesse of their leaves. It is also a plant that requireth much water, and in a maner continually, which agrees with the sacred Scripture that saith; *Like to the Plane neere the waters*. But in truth there is no more comparison nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Proverb saith) betwixt an egge and a chesnut. For first, the antient plane

carries

carries no fruit, at the leaſt, they made no account ther-
of, but the chiefeſt reaſon why they eſteemed it, was,
for the ſhadow, for that there was no more Sunne vn-
der a Plane than vnder a roofe. And contrariwiſe, the
reaſon why they ſhoulde regarde it at the *Indies*, yea
make great accompt thereof, is by reaſon of this fruite,
which is very good; for they have little ſhade. More-
over, the antient Plane had the body ſo bigge, and the
Plin.lib.2.ca.1 boughs ſo ſpread, that *Pliny* reporteth of one *Licinius* a
Romane Captaine, who with eighteene of his compa-
nions dined at eaſe in th'hollow of one of theſe planes:
and of the Emperour *Caius Caligula*, who with eleven
of his gheſts feaſted vpon the toppe of an other Plane,
where he made them a ſumptuous banquet. The Indi-
an Planes have neither ſo great nor hollow bodies, nor
ſo broade boughs. He ſaieth moreover, that the aunti-
ent Planes grew in *Italie* and in *Spaine*, although they
had beene brought thither from *Greece*; and firſt from
Aſia, but the Indians Planes growe neither in *Italy* nor
in *Spaine*. I ſay they growe not there, for although we
have ſeene ſome at *Seville* in the Kings gardins, yet they
proſper not, nor are of any account. Finally, whatſoe-
ver they find alike betwixt the one and the other, is ve-
ry different. For although the leaves of the auntient
Planes were very great, yet were they not ſuch, nor ſo
great as thoſe at the *Indies*, ſeeing that *Pliny* compares
it to the leafe of a Vine or Figge tree.

Pli.lib.12.c.16 The leaves of the Indian Plane, are of a wonderfull
bignes, and are, in a maner, ſufficient to cover a man
from the foote to the head, ſo as no man can doubt
but there is great difference betwixt the one and the
other. But put the caſe that this Indian Plane be diffe-
rent from the ancient, yet deſerves it no leſſe commen-
dation,

dation, it may be, more, by reason of the profitable qualities it hath. It is a plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundrie siens and sprigges, divided, and not ioyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, every one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaves, which are of a fine greene smooth, and great as I have said. When it is growne to the height of a stade and a halfe, or two, it puttes forth one only bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I have tolde vpon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof every one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference heerein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughs or clusters, as I have said, being greene, and put them into vessells, where they ripen, being well covered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serves for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they have a better taste, and a very good smell, like to *Camoisses* or sweet apples. They last almost all the yeere, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke; so as when one endes, another beginnes to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe and the other beginnes to bud anew, so as one succeedes another, and the fruite continues the whole yeere. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and never but once: but as I have saide, the stalke remaines, and castes forth new sienes or stalkes, vntill it growes olde and dies. This Plane continues

many

many yeares, and requires much moisture, and a very hote ground. They put ashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining therof, and they make small groves, and very thicke, which are of great profit and revenue vnto them; for that it is the fruite they vse most at the *Indies*, and is generall in all places, although they say the first beginning comes from *Ethiopia*. And in trueth the Negros vse them much, and in some places they serve them as bread, yea they make wine of them. They eate this fruite rawe like other fruits; they likewise roast it, and make many sorts of potages, and conserves, and in all thinges it serveth very well. There is a kinde of small Planes, white and very delicate, which in *Hispaniola* they call *Dominiques*. There are others which are stronger and bigger, and red of colour. There growes none in the kingdome of *Peru*, but are brought from the *Indies*, as from *Mexico*, *Cuernavaca*, and other vallies. Vpon the firme land, and in some Ilands there are great store of Planes, like vnto thicke groves. If this plant were fit for the fire, it were the most profitable of all others, but it is nothing fit, for neither the body nor the boughs will burne, and much lesse will it serve for building, being a sappy wood, and without force. Yet *Don Alonze Darzilla* (as it is said) vsed the leaves of this tree dried, to write a parte of the *Auricana*, and in truth it may serve for want of paper, seeing that the leafe is as broade as a sheet of paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of Cacao and Coca. CHAP. 22.

ALthough the Plane be the most profitable, yet that *Cacao* is most esteemed at *Mexico*, and the *Coca* in *Peru*,

Peru; in which two trees they have great superstition. The *Cacao* is a fruit little lesse than almonds, yet more fatte, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongest the Indians (yea and among the Spaniards) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new *Spaine*: for being a drie fruite, and that keepes long without corruption, they carry whole shippes loaden from the province of *Guatimalla*. The last yeare an English Pirat did burne in the Port of *Guatulco* in new *Spaine*, above a hundred thousand charges of *Cacao*. They vse it in steede of money, for with five *Cacaos* they buy one thing, with thirtie an other, and with a hundred an other, without any contradiction; and they vse to give it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe vse of this *Cacao*, is in a drincke which they call *Chocholaté*, wherçof they make great accompt in that Country, fooliſhly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, having a skumme or froth that is very vnpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the Indians, where-with they feast noble men as they passe through their Country. The Spaniards both men and women, that are accustomed to the Countrey, are very greedy of this *Chocholaté*. They say they make diverse sortes of it, some hote, some colde, and some temperate, and put therein much of that *Chili*; yea they make paste thereof, the which they say is good for the stomacke, and against the Catarre. Whatsoever it be, such as have not been nouriſhed there, are not very curious thereof. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bigneſſe, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere vn-

to it, a great tree, which serves onely to shadow it, and they call it the mother of *Cacao*. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Olive trees of *Spaine*. The province where there is greatest abundance for the traffike of Marchandise, is *Guatimalla*. There growes none in *Peru*, but *Coca*, wherein they hold an other great superstition, which seemes to be fabulous. In trueth the trafficke of *Coca* in *Potozi* doth yearely mount to above halfe a million of peeces, for that they vse foure score and tenne, or foure score and fifteene thousand baskets every yeare. In the yeare, one thousand five hundred eighty three, they spent a hundred thousand. A basket of *Coca* in *Cusco* is woorth two peeces and a halfe, and three; and in *Potozi* it is readily worth foure peeces, and five *Tomines*, and five peeces tried. It is a kinde of marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This *Coca* whereof they make such account, is a small greene leafe, which groweth vpon small trees about a fadome high, and in hote and moyst grounds; every foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call *Tresmitas* or *Tremoy*; it requires great care in planting, beeing very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They laie it in order in long & narrow baskets, and so lade theyr sheepe of the Country, which go in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise. They bring it commonly from the *Andes* and vallies, where there is an extreame heate, and where it raines continually the most part of the yeare: wherein the *Indians* endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, & often many die; for that they go from the *Sierre* and colde places to till and gather them in the *Andes*. And therefore there hath beene great question and diversity

Coca

1583

of

of opinions among learned men, whether it were more expedient to pull vp these trees, or to let them growe, but in the end they remained. The *Indians* esteeme it much, and in the time of their Kings *Inguas* it was not lawfull for any of the common people to vse this *Coca* without licence from the Governor. Their vse is to cary it in their mouthes, chawing it, and sucking out the iuyce, but they swallow it not. They say it gives them great courage, and is very pleasing vnto them. Many grave men holde this as a superstition & a meere imagination: for my part, and to speake the truth, I perswade not my selfe that it is an imagination; but contrariwise, I thinke it works and gives force and courage to the *Indians*: for we see the effects, which cannot be attributed to imagination, as to go some daies without meate, but onely a handfull of *Coca*, and other like effects. The sawce wherewith they doe eate this Coca, is proper enough, whereof I have tasted, and it is like the taste of leather. The *Indians* mingle it with the ashes of bones burnt and beat into powlder; or with lime, as others affirme, which seemeth to them pleasing and of a good taste; and they say it dooth them much good. They willingly imploy their money therein, and vse it as money: yet all these things were not inconvenient, were not the hazard of the trafficke thereof, wherein so many men are occupied. The Seigniors *Inguas*, vsed *Coca* as a delicate and royall thing, which they offered most in their sacrifices, burning it in honor of their idolls.

Of Maguey, Tunal, Cochenille, Anir, and Cotton.

Chap. 23.

Maguey

Maguey is a tree of wonders, whereof the Notaries or Chapetons (as the *Indians* call them) are wont

to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth water, wine, oyle, vineger, honny, sirrope, threede, needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the *Indians* esteeme much in new *Spaine*, & have commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenaunce of life; it grows in the fields, and hath great and large leaves, at the end whereof is a strong & sharp point, which serves to fasten little pins, or to sowe as a needle; & they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of threed which they vse. They cut the body which is big, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the root, and is a liquor which they drink like water, being sweet & fresh. This liquor being sodden, turnes like wine, which growes to vineger, suffring it to sowre, and boyling it more, it becomes as hony, & boyling it halfe, it serves as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste; in my iudgement it is better then the sirrope of raisins. Thus doe they boyle this liquor, and vse it in diverse sortes, whereof they drawe a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in *Peru*, but they are not so profitable as in new *Spaine*. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serves to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuze, and preserves it long; I have seene the *Indians* vse it to that end.

The *Tunall* is another famous tree in new *Spaine*: if we may call a tree a heape of leaves gathered together one vpon another, it is the strangest fashiond tree of all other, for first there grows one leafe out of the ground, then another vpon it, and so one vpon one, till it commeth to his perfection; but as the leaves growe vp, and on the sides, those vnderneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaves, making a bodie

and

and braunches, which are sharpe, pricking and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a Thistle. There are thistles or wilde *Tunalls*, the which do carry no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted *Tunalls* which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the Indians, the which they call *Tunas*, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fatte, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they have a good taste, especially the white, which have a pleasing smell, but the red are not vsually so good. There is another sorte of *Tunalls*, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares an other commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certayne small wormes breede in the leaves of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are therevnto fastned, covered with a certaine small fine web, which doth compasse them in daintily; and this is that Indian *Cochènille*, so famous, and wherewith they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carry it into *Spaine*, which is a great and rich marchandise. The arobe of this *Cochenille* or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they did bring five thousand sixe hundred seventy seven arobes, which amounted to twoo hundred foure score three thousand seven hundred and fifty peeces, & commonly there comes every yeare as great a wealth.

These *Tunalls* grow in temperate grounds inclining to colde. In *Peru* there growes none to this day, I have seene some plants in *Spaine*, but they deserve not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the *Anir*, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearb, for that it serveth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise

chandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great aboundance iu new *Spaine*, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arobes, or thereabouts, which amounted to so many peeces. Cotten likewise growes vpon small shrubs, and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe; which being gathered, they spinne to make stuffes. It is one of the things at the *Indies* of greatest profite, and most in vse; for it serves them both insteed of flaxe and wooll to make their garments. It groweth in a hote soyle, and there is great store in the vallies, and sea coast of *Peru*, in new *Spaine*, the *Philippines* and *China*. But the greatest store of any place that I know, is in the province of *Tucuman*, in that of saint *Croix* of the *Sierre*, and at *Paraguey*, whereas Cotten is their chiefe revenue. They carry cotten into *Spaine* from the Iland of Saint *Dominike*: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. arobes. At the *Indies* whereas this cotten growes, they make cloth, which both the men and women vse commonly, making table napkins thereof, yea and sailes for their shippes. There is some course, and other that is fine and delicate; they die it into diverse colours, as wee doe by our woollen cloth in *Europe*.

Cotton

Of Mameys, Guayavos, and Paltos Chap. 24.

Mameys

THese Plants we have spoken of, are the most profitable of the *Indies*, and the most necessary for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the *Mameys* are esteemed, being in fashion like to great peaches, and bigger, they have one or two stones within them, and their meate

is

is some what hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sower, and have the rinde hard. They make conserves of the meate of this fruite, which is like to marmelade. The vse of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserves they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I have not seene any in *Peru*. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The *Guayavos* be other trees which commonly carry an ill fruite, full of sower kernells, and are like to little apples. It is a tree little esteemed vpon the firme land and at the Ilands, for they say it smells like to the *Punaises*. The taste and savour of this fruite is very grosse, and the substance vnholesome. In S. *Dominique* and other Ilands, there are whole mountaines full of these *Guayavos*, and they say, there was no such kinde of trees before the Spaniards came there, but that they broght them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no beast that will eate the kernells or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hote and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In *Peru*, the *Guayavos* differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste; and of what sort of *Guayavos* soever it bee, the fruit is as good as the best of *Spaine*, especially of those which they call *Guayavos de Matos*, and of other little white *Guayvilles*. It is a fruit reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomacke, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The *Paltas* commonly are hote and delicate. The *Palto* is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruite like to great peares: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were butter, and have a delicate taste. In *Peru* the *Paltas*

Guayavos

Paltos

are great, and have a very hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most vsuall in *Mexico*, having a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I have said, it declines a little from heat. These *Mamayes Guayavos*, and *Paltos*, be the Indians peaches, apples, and peares; and yet would I rather choose them of *Europe*. But some others by vse, or it may be by affection, doe more esteeme those of the *Indies*. I doubt not but such as have not seene nor tasted of these fruites, will take small pleasure to reade this discourse, yea, they will grow wearie to heare it, as I have done in writing it, which makes me to abridge it, speaking of some other sortes of fruites, for it were impossible to intreate of them all.

Of Chicoçapote, Amonas, and Capollis.

Chap. 25.

Some desirous to augment thinges at the *Indies*, have given out that there is no kinde of fruite like vnto *Cotignac*, or marmelade, and another which tastes like a meate made of almonds and creame, which they call *Blanckemanger*, for that the taste of them deserves these names, the marmalad is that which they call *Capotes*, or *Chicoçapotes*, which have a sweete taste, and neere vnto the colour of marmalade. Some *Crollos*, (for so they call the Spaniards borne at the *Indies*,) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of *Spaine* in excellency: yet am I not of that opinion, at the least they say, it passeth all other fruites in taste; but I will not dwell vpon this question, for that it doth not deserve it. Those *Chicoçapotes* or *Capotes*, wherein there is little difference,

grow

grow in the hoteſt partes of new *Spaine*, neither have I knowledge of any ſuch fruite in the firme land of *Peru*. As for the *Blanckemanger*, it is that *Annona* or *Guanavana*, which growes in the firme land, which is faſhoned like vnto a peare, a little ſharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and ſoft like butter, ſweete and of a pleaſing taſte: It is no whit meate, though they call it *Blanckemanger*, but in truth they have added much vnto it, by giving this name: although it be delicate and of a ſawcie and delicious taſte, and according to the iudgement of ſome, it is held for the beſt fruite of the *Indies*, yet hath it many blacke kernells within it, and the beſt which I have ſeene is in new *Spaine*, where the *Capolies* grow, which be like vnto cheries, with a ſtone, but ſome what bigger: the forme and ſhape is like vnto cheries, of a good taſte, being ſweete aud ſharpe; but I have not ſeene any *Capollyes* in any other Countrie.

Blanchemanger

Capolies

Of many ſortes of fruit Trees, of Cocos, Almondes, of the Andes, and Almonds of Chachapoyas.

Chap. 26.

IT were not poſſible to reckon all the fruites and trees at the *Indies*, for that I remember not many, and there are many more whereof I have no knowledge; and in my opinion, it were troubleſome to ſpeake of all thoſe I now remember. There are ſome groſſe fruites, as thoſe which they call *Lucumes*, (of which fruite they ſpeake in a proverbe, that it is a counterfet price,) The *Guanos*, *Pacayes*, *Hubos*, and the nuttes which they call impriſoned; which fruites ſeeme to many, to be the ſame kinde of nuttes we have in *Spaine*;

Fruit trees kind

Lucumes

yea

yea, they say, if they were often transplanted from place to place, they would carry nuttes altogether like to those of *Spaine*. And the reason why the fruite is so vnpleasant, is, for that they are wilde. To conclnde, we ought well to consider the providence and riches of the Creator, who impartes to so divers partes of the world, such varietie of fruite trees, all for the service of man that inhabites the earth. And it is an admirable thing to see so many different formes, tastes, and effects vnknowne, whereof we did never heare speake, before the discoverie of the *Indies*. And whereof *Plinie* himselfe, *Dioscorides* and *Theophrastes*, (yea, the most curious,) had no knowledge, notwithstanding all their search and dilligence. There have beene some curious men of our age, which have written some Treatises of the Indian plants, of hearbes, and rivers, and of their operations for phisicke, to whom they may flie for their better instruction. I onely pretend, (and in few words,) to treate superficially of that which comes to memory touching this subiect; yet do I not thinke it good to passe away vnder silence the *Cocos* or Indian palmes, by reason of a very notable propertie it hath. I call them palmes, not properly, or that it beares dates, but that they are trees like to other palmes. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These *Cocos* yield a fruit which they likewise call *Cocos*, wherof they commonly make vessells to drinke in, and some they say have a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in taste to greene chesnuttes. When the *Coco* is tender vpon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were milke, which they drinke for daintines,

daintines, and to refresh them in time of heate. I have seene of these trees in S. *Iean de Port Ricco*, and other parts of the *Indies*, and they report a wonderfull thing, that every moneth or Moone, this tree castes forth a new branch of this *Cocos*; so as it yeeldes fruite twelve times in the yeere, as it is written in the Apocalips: and in truth this seemes like vnto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These *Cocos*, are commonly of the forme and bignes of a small melon. There is of another kinde which they call *Coquillos*, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in *Chille*. They are some what lesse then nuttes, but more round. There is another kinde of *Cocos*, which have not the kernell so oylie, but within they have a great number of small fruites like almonds, like vnto the graines of a Poungarnet.

Coquillos

These almonds are thrice as bigge as those of *Castille*, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate, they vse it also in feasting, for lack of almons to make marchpanes, and such other things. They call them Almonds of the Andes, for that these *Cocos* growe aboundantlie vpon the Andes of *Peru*; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit anie one on the head, he hath no more need of any surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollowe of these *Cocos*, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these almonds. But as touching almonds and other fruites, all trees must yeelde to the almonds of *Chachapoyas*, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate, and wholesome

almonds

Chachapoyas almonds

wholesome fruit of all that I have seene at the *Indies*; yea a learned Physitian did affirme, that amongest all the fruits at the *Indies*, or in *Spaine*, none came neere these Almonds in excellencie. There are both greater and lesse than those of the *Andes*, but all are fatter than those of *Castille*. They are very tender to eate, and they have much iuyce and substance; and are oylie and very pleasant: they grow vpon high trees, bearing great leaues. And as it is a pretious thing, so nature hath given them a good covering and defence, being in a huske somewhat bigger, and more pricking than a chesnut. Yet when this huske is drie, they easily drawe foorth the graine. They say, that the Apes who are very greedie of this fruit, and whereof there is aboundance in *Chachapoyas* of *Peru* (which is the onely countrey (to my knowledge) where these trees doe growe) fearing they should pricke them, and yet desirous to draw forth the almond, they cast them from the toppe of the tree against the stones, and having broken the huske, they open them to eate the fruite at their pleasure.

Of many and diverse flowers, and of some trees which yeeld onely a flower, and how the Indians do vse them CHAP. 27.

Flowers

THe Indians are great lovers of flowers, and in new *Spaine* more than in any other part of the worlde, & therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of nosegaies, which there they call *Suchilles*, with such prety varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They have a custome amongst them, that the chiefest man offer their *Suchilles* or nosegayes in honour to Noblemen, and to their ghests; and they presented vs with such

such aboundance as we passed through that Country, as we knew not what to doe with them; and at this day they vse the principall flowers of *Castill*, to that end, for that they growe better there than heere, as gilliflowers, roses, jasmins, violets, orange flowers, and other sortes which they have transported out of *Spaine*. The rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no roses. It chaunced one day that a rose tree was burned, and the siens which sprowted out, presently bare aboundance of roses, and thereby they learnd to prune them, and to cut off the superfluous braunches, so as at this day they yeeld reasonable store of roses. But besids these kindes of flowers, which have beene transported from hence. There are many others, whose names I do not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the *Indians* did vse to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that many of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, having no good savour, eyther they are grosse, or else they have none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent scent. As those which growe vpon a tree termed by them *Floripondio* or carry flower, which beares no fruit, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little bells, all white, which have within them small threeds, as we see in the lillie: it leaves not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is woonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo* sent of these trees vnto King *Philip*, as a thing woorthy to be planted in royall gardins. In new *Spaine* the Indians esteeme much of a flower, which they call *Volosuchil*, which signifieth flower of the heart, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and

and is not much leſſe. There is likewiſe an other great tree, which beares this kinde of flower, without any fruite; it hath a ſtrong ſavour, and in my opinion, too violent, the which may ſeeme to ſome more pleaſing. It is a thing well knowne, that the flower which they call of the Sunne, hath the figure of the Sunne, and turnes according to the motion thereof. There are other kindes which they call gilleflowers of the *Indies*, the which are like to a fine orange tawnie vellet, or a violet; thoſe have no ſcent of any account, but onely are faire to the eye. There are other flowers which beſides the beautie of the eye, although they have no ſmell, yet have they a ſavour like vnto creſſes, the which if you ſhoulde eate with outlooking of them, you would iudge them to be no other. The flower of *Granadille* is held for an admirable thing, and they ſay, it hath in it the markes of the paſſion, and that therein they note the nailes, the piller, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the woundes, wherein they are not altogether without reaſon, and yet to finde out and obſerve theſe things, it requires ſome pietie to cauſe beleeſe: but it is very exquiſite and faire to the eye, although it have no ſmell. The fruite which they alſo call *Granadille* is eaten and drunke; or to ſpeake more properly, ſucked, for a refreſhing; this fruite is ſweete, and too ſweete after ſome opinions. The Indians have vſed in their feaſts and dances, to carry flowers in their handes, and the Kings and Noblemen carry them for their greatnes. For this reaſon we commonly ſee their ancient pictures with flowers in their hands, as we ſee heere with gloves. I thinke this ſufficient touching flowers. They vſe *Bazilic* to this effect, although it bee no flower, but an hearbe onely, which they were wont

to

to plant carefully in their gardins, but now they regard it not; so as it growes onely about their pooles and ponds,

Of Balme. Chap. 28.

THe Soveraigne Creator hath not onely fashioned Plants to serve as meat, but also for recreation, for phisicke, and for the cure of man. I have spoken somewhat of those that serve for nourishment, which is the chiefe, and a little of those that serve for recreation, and now we are to intreate of those which are proper for phisicke, wherein I will speake something. And although all plants are medicinall when they are well knowne and applied, yet there are some things especially, which wee see directly ordained by the Creator for phisicke; and for the health of man: as liquors, oiles, gummes, and rozines, which come from divers plants and hearbes, and which easily shew by experience whereto they are proper. Above all, Baulme is with reason esteemed for the excellent smell, but much more for the exquisite effect it hath to cure woundes, and divers other remedies, as experience hath taught in the cure of diseases. The Balme which comes from the West *Indies*, is not of the same kind of right Balme which they bring from *Alexandria* or *Caire*, and in old time was in *Iudea*; which *Iudea* (as *Plinie* writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, vntill the Emperor *Vespasian* broght it to *Rome* & into *Italie*. The reason why I say the liquor of the one and the other are not of one kinde, is for that the trees from whence it comes are very different: for the balme tree of *Palestine* was small, and fashioned like to a Vine (as *Plinie* reporteth) who

Balm

Pli.lib. 12.*c.*25

who had seene it, and those that at this day that have seene them in the East, say as much. As also the holy Scripture calles the place where the Balme thickens, Vine of *Enguaddy*, for the resemblance it hath to vine. At the *Indies* I have seene the tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as bigge as a poungarnet tree, and some thing neere the fashion; and if my memory failes me not, it hath nothing common with the vine, although that *Strabo* writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignes of a poungarnet tree. But in their accidents and operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smells, and in the cure and healing of wounds, in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermilion, greene, and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the *Indies*. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so do they with that at the *Indies*, although it distilles in greater aboundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call *Opobalsamum*, which be the very teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they drawe from the barke and leaves strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call *Xilobalssamum*. The like is also in the Indian Balmes; there is one pure that distilles from the tree, and others that the Indians draw out by straining and boiling the leaves and wood, yea, they do sophisticate and augment it with other liquors, to make it increase. It is not without reason they call it Balme, for in truth it is so, (although it be not of the same kinde of the ancient,) yet it is much esteemed, and should be more, if the great aboundance were not

Cant.1.

Balm Tree

Strab.lib.16. Geograp.

the

the cause as in Emeraldes and Pearles. That which importes most, is the vse wherein it is imployed, for creame and vnctions in the Church, and in such veneration: for that the Apostolike sea hath given libertie to give creame of Balme at the *Indies*, and that they should vse it in confirmation and other ceremonies which they vse. They bring Balme to *Spaine* from new *Spaine*, from the Province of *Guatimalla*, from *Chiappa*, and other places where it aboundes most, although the most esteemed be that which comes from the Iland of *Tollu*, which is vpon the maine land, not farre from *Carthagene*. This Balme is white, and commonly they holde the white to bee more perfect then the red, although *Plinie* gives the first place to the vermilion, the second to the white, the third to greene, and the last to blacke; but it seemes that *Strabo* esteemed more the white Balmes as ours doe. *Monardes* discourseth at large of the Indian Balme in the first and second part, especially of that of *Carthagene* and *Tollu*, which is all one. I have not found that the Indians in olde time did much esteeme Balme, nor yet imploy it in any important vse, although *Monardes* saieth, that the Indians cured their woundes therewith, and from thence the Spaniardes learned it.

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gums, and Drugges, which they bring from the Indies. Chap. 29.

NExt to Balme, Amber holdes the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweete and medicinall; but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hote complexion, and a good perfume, the which they apply to woundes, bruises, and other necessities;

wherein I will referre my selfe to the Phisitions, especially to Doctor *Monardes*, who in his first Part, hath written of this liquor, and many others that are phisicall, which comes from the *Indies*. This Amber comes from new *Spaine*, which hath that advantage above other Provinces in goomes, liquors, and iuyce of trees, whereby they have such abundance of matter, for perfume and phisicke, as is the *Animé*, whereof there comes great store, *Copall*, or *Suchicopal*, which is another kinde, storax and encense, which have excellent operations, and have a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the *Tacamahaca* and *Caranna*, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Province oyle of Aspicke, which the Phisitians and Painters vse much, the one for plasters, the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Phisitians, *Cassia fistule*, the which growes plentifully in S. *Dominique*. It is a great tree, which carries these canes as his fruite. They brought in the fleete wherein I came from S. *Dominique* fortie eight quintalles of *Cassia fistule*. *Salcepareille* is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is vsed. There came in the same fleete fiftie quintalles from the same Iland. There is much of this *Salcepareille* at *Peru*, and most excellent in the Province of *Guayaquill*, which is vnder the Line. Many go to be cured into this Province, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, gives them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I have said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great covering or garments to make a man sweate in that countrie. The wood of *Guayac*, which they call *Lignum sanctum*, or Indian wood growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heavie as yron, so

as

as it presently sinkes in the water, heereof they brought in the same fleete 350. quintalls, and they might have brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were vse for it. There came in the same fleete, and from the same Iland, 130. quintalles of *Brefill* wood, the which is fierie red, so well knowne, and much vsed in dying and other things. There are at the *Indies* infinite numbers of other aromaticall woodes, gummes, oyles, and drugges, so as it is not possible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I say onely, that in the time of the Kings *Inguas* of *Cusco*, and the *Mexicaine* Kings, there were many great personages expert in curing of diseases with simples, and did goodly cures, having the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of hearbes, rootes, woodes, and plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of *Europe* have had no knowledge. There are a thousand of these simples fit to purge, as the rootes of *Mechoacan*, the *Pignons* of *Punua*, the conserve of *Guanucquo*, the oyle of Fig-trees, and many other things, the which being well applied, and in time, they hold to be of no lesse efficacie then the drugges that come from the East. The which may be seene in reading the discourse which *Monardes* hath made in the first and second Part, where he treates amply of *Tobacco*, or *Petum*, whereof they have made notable experiences against poison. *Tobacco* is a small tree or plant, common enough, the which hath in it rare vertues, as amongst others it serves for a counterpoison, like to many and divers other plants: for the Creator of all things hath imparted his vertues at his pleasure, not willing that any thing should grow idle. But it is another soveraigne gift to man, to know them and their proper vses, the

Brasil wood

purgatives

false.

Tobacco

which the same Creator gives to whome hee pleaseth. Doctor *Francis Hernandes* hath made a goodly worke vppon this subiect, of *Indian* plants, liquors, and other phisicall things, by the Kings expresse commission and commaundement, causing all the plants at the *Indies* to be lively painted, which they say are above a thousand two hundred; and that the worke cost above three score thousand ducats: out of which worke the Doctor *Nardus Anthonius* an Italian Physitian hath made a curious extract, sending him to the foresaid bookes, that desires more exactly to knowe the plants at the *Indies*, especially for physicke.

Of great forrests at the Indies, of Cedars, of Ceivas, and other great trees. CHAP. 30.

ALthough from the beginning the earth did bring foorth plants and trees by the commandement of the Lord, yet hath it yielded more in one place than in another: and besides the plants and trees, which by the industry of man have beene transplanted and carried from place to place, there are many which Nature it selfe hath brought forth. I do beleeve, that of this sort there are more at the new world, which we do call the *Indies*, either in number or diversitie, than in the olde, as *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Affrike*. The reason is, for that the climate at the *Indies* is generally hot and moist, as we have declared in the second Booke, against the opinion of the Auntients, which causeth the earth naturally for to bring foorth an infinit number of wilde plants, whereby the greatest part of the *Indies* is inhabitable, being almost impossible to travell by reason of the woodes and thicke forrests that are there, which they labour dailie

to

to cut downe. It hath bin needefull (passing through some partes of the *Indies*, especially where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe trees, and pulling vp bushes, so that (as some religious men have written that have tried it) they coulde not sometimes have passed above a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credite) reported vnto vs, that being straied in the mountaines, not knowing which way he shoulde passe, he fell among such thicke bushes, that he was forced to go vpon them, without setting foote to the ground, by the space of fifteene whole dayes: and to see the Sunne, or to marke some way in this thicke forrest full of wood, he was forced to climbe to the top of the highest trees to discover. He that shall reade the discourse of his travell, how often hee was lost, and the wayes he passed, with the strange adventures that happened vnto him, the which I have written briefly, being so worthy the knowledge, and having my selfe travelled alittle over the mountaines at the *Indies*, were it but the eighteene leagues betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, may well iudge what great forrests there are. So as having no winter in those parts, to nip them with colde, and the humiditie of the heavens, and earth being so great, as the mountaines bring foorth infinit forrests, and the plaines which they call *Savanas*, great plenty of grasse: there is no want of pasture for feeding, of timber building, nor of wood for fewell. It is impossible to set downe the differences and formes of so many wilde trees, for that the names of the greatest parte are vnknowne.

Cedars in olde time so much esteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and shippes, and they are of diverse sortes, some white, and some redde, very

Bay Trees

odoriferant. There are great store of Bay trees, very pleasant to beholde vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, vppon the mountaines, in the Ilands of *Nicaragua*, and in New *Spaine*. There are also infinite numbers of Palmes and Ceivas, whereof the *Indians* make their Canoes, which are boates made of one peece. They bring into *Spaine* from the *Havana*, excellent timber. In the Iland of *Cuba*, there are infinite numbers of like trees, as *Ebene*, *Caovana*, *Grenadille*, Cedars, and other kindes which I do not know. There are great pine trees in New *Spaine*, though they be not so strong as those in *Spaine*: they beare no pignous or kernells, but empty apples. The oaks as they cal them of *Guaiaquil*, is an excelent wood and sweet, when they cut it; yea there are kanes or most high reedes, of whose boughs or small reedes they doe make bottles and pitchers to carry water, and do likewise vse them in their buildings. There is likewise the wood of *Manzle*, or Firre, whereof they make masts for their shippes, and they holde them as strong as yron. *Molle* is a tree of many vertues, which casteth foorth small boughes, whereof the *Indians* make wine. In *Mexico* they call it the tree of *Peru*, for that it came from thence: but it growes also in New *Spaine*, and better than those in *Peru*. There are a thousand other trees, which were a superfluous labour to intreate of, whereof some are of an exceeding greatnesse, I will speake only of one which is in *Tlaco Chavoya*, three leagues from *Guayaca* in New *Spaine*: this tree being measured within, being hollow, was found to have nine fadome, and without, neare to the roote, sixteene, and somewhat higher, twelve. This tree was strooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which caused this hollownesse; they say that before the

Palms

Ceivas

Ebeny

Oak

Bamboy

Manzle or Firre

Molle

Country

huge Tree

thun-

thunder fell vpon it, it was able to shadow a thousand men, and therefore they did assemble there for theyr daunces and superstitions: yet to this day there doth remaine some boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they say it is a kind of Cedar. Such as shall finde this strange, let them reade what *Plinie* reporteth of the Plane of *Lidia*, the hollow whereof contained foure score foote and one, and seemed rather a Cabbin or a house, than the hollow of a tree, his boughs like a whole wood, the shaddow whereof covered a great part of the field. By that which is writen of this tree, we have no great cause to wonder at the Weaver, who hadde his dwelling and loome in the hollow of a chesnut tree; and of another chesnut tree, if it were not the very same, into the hollow whereof there entered eighteene men on horseback, and passed out without disturbing one another. The Indians did commonly vse their idolatries in these trees, so strange and deformed, even as did the antient Gentiles, as some Writers of our time doe report.

Plin. lib. 12. c. 1

Of Plants and fruits which have bin carried out of Spaine *to the* Indies.

Chap. 31.

THe *Indians* have received more profit, and have bin better recompensed in plants that have bin brought from *Spaine*, than in any other marchandise, for that those few which are carried from the *Indies* into *Spaine*, growe little there, and multiply not, and contrariwise the great number that have beene caried from *Spaine* to the *Indies*, prosper wel & multiplie greatly: I know not whether I shall attribute it to the bounty of the plants

that goe from hence, or to the goodneſſe of the ſoile that is there. Finally, there is at the *Indies* any good thing that *Spaine* brings foorth; in ſome places it is better, in ſome worſe, as wheate, barley, hearbes, and all kindes of pulſes, alſo lettuce, colewortes, radiſhes, onions, garlike, parſley, turneps, parſeneps, *Becengenes*, or apples of love, ſiccorie, beetes, ſpinage, peaſe, beanes, vetches; and finally, whatſoever groweth heere of anie profite, ſo as all that have voyaged thither, have beene curious to carry ſeedes of all ſorts, and all have growen, although diverſly, ſome more, ſome leſſe. As for thoſe trees that have moſt aboundantly fructified, be orange trees, limons, citrons, and others of that ſort. In ſome partes there are at this day, as it were whole woods and forreſts of orange trees: the which ſeeming ſtrange vnto mee, I asked who had planted the fields with ſo many orange trees? they made mee anſwer, that it did come by chaunce, for that oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their ſeeds did ſpring, and of thoſe which the water had carried away into diverſe partes, theſe woods grew ſo thicke: which ſeemed to mee a very good reaſon. I have ſaide that this fruite hath generally increaſed moſt at the *Indies*, for that I have not beene in any place but I finde orange trees, for that all their ſoyle is hote and moiſt, which this tree moſt deſires. There growes not any vppon the *Sierre* or mountaine, but they carry them from the vallies or ſea coaſt. The conſerve of oranges which they do make at the Ilands, is the beſt I have ſeene anie where; peaches, preſſes and apricockes have greatly multiplied, eſpecially in New *Spaine*. At *Peru* there growes few of theſe kindes of fruites, except peaches, and much leſſe in the Ilands. There growes apples and peares, yet but ſcarcely: there

Herbs, Roots

Orange Lemon Citron

Conſerve of Oranges

Peaches Preſſes Apricots Country apples Pears

are

are but few plumbs, but aboundance of figges, chiefly in *Peru*. They finde quinces in all the country of the *Indies*, and in New *Spaine*, in such aboundance, as they gave vs fifty choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great store of pomegranets, but they are all sweete, for the sharp are not there esteemed. There are very good melons in some partes of *Peru*. Cherries both wilde and tame have not prospered well at the *Indies*, the which I do not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all sorts, but to carelesnesse, or that they have not well observed the temperature. To conclude, I do not finde that in those partes there wants any dainty fruite. As for grosse fruites, they have no *Beillottes* nor chesnuttes, neither doe I finde that any have growne there to this day. Almonds growe there, but rarely. They carry from *Spaine*, for such as are dainty mouthed, both almonds, nuttes, and filberds; but I have not knowne they had any medlers or servises, which importes little. In my iudgement, this may suffice to shew that there wanteth no delightfull fruites. Now let vs speake somewhat of plants that profit, and which have been carried from *Spaine*, and so will ende that Treatise, beeing too troublesome.

Plumbs
Figs
Quinces
— Conty
Pomegranats
Melons
— Conty
Cherries
Beillottes
nor
Chesnuts
almonds
Nuts
Medlers
Services

Of grapes, vignes, olives, mulberies, and kanes of sugar.
Chap. 32.

I Meane by profitable plants, those, which besides that which they eate in the house, bring silver to theyr maisters; the chiefe of these is the vigne, whereof commeth wine vineger, grapes, greene and dry, veriuyce, and sirrope. But the wine is the best. There growes no wine, nor grapes in the Ilandes, nor firme land, but in

new

new *Spaine*, there are some vignes which beare grapes, and yet make no wine. The cause is, for that the grape ripens not well, by reason of the raine that falles in the months of Iuly and August, which hinders their ripening, so as they serve onely to eate. They carry wine out of *Spaine*, and from the *Canaries*, to all partes of the *Indies*, except *Peru* and the realme of *Chillé*, where there are vignes that yeelde excellent wine, which increase daily both in quantity, for that it is a great riches in that country, and in beauty, for that they are become with time and practise more expert vignerous. The vignes of *Peru* are commonly in hote vallies, where there are waters, which they water with the hand, because there falles no raine at all from heaven; and vppon the *Lanos* and *Sierre* it comes not in time. There are some places where the vignes are not watered, neither from heaven nor earth, and yet they increase in great aboundance, as in the valley of *Yca*, and in the ditches that they call *Villacuzi*, in which places they finde ditches, or th'earth suncke downe amongest the dead sands, which are thorowout the yeare of a woonderfull coolenesse, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any maner of meanes to water it artificially; the reason is, because the soile is spongious, and suckes vp the water of the rivers that fall from the mountaine, which moisten these sands, or else it is the moistnesse of the sea, as others suppose, which passing over this sand, is the cause why it is not barren nor vnprofitable, as the Philosopher teaches. The vignes have so increased there, as for this cause onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied five or sixe times double within these twentie yeares. The most fertile vallies for vignes be *Victor* neare to *Arequipa*, *Yca* in the territory of *Lima*, and *Caraguato*

in

in the Countrey of *Chuquiavo*; they carry this wine to *Potozi*, *Cusco* and divers partes, which yeeldes a great revenue: for notwithstanding all the aboundance they have, a bottle or arobe is there woorth five or sixe duckats, and if it be Spanish wine (as they commonly carry in their fleetes) it is woorth tenne or twelve. They make wine like to that of *Spaine*, in the realme of *Chille*, being in the same climate; but it corrupteth being carried to *Peru*: they eate the grape where they cannot drink the wine. And it is strange, that in the citty of *Cusco* you shall finde ripe grapes all the yeare long: the reason is (as they say) for that those valleis bring foorth fruits in diverse moneths of the yeare, either for that they cutte their vignes in diverse seasons, or that this varietie proceedes from the quality of the soyle; but whatsoever it be, it is most certaine, there are some vallies which carry fruit all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I shall say, and perchaunce not beleeve it. There are trees in *Peru*, whereof the one part yeeldes fruit one sixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruite the other sixe moneths. In *Malla* which is thirteene leagues from the Cittie of *Kings*, there is a figge tree, whereof the one halfe which is towardes the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruite one season of the yeare, that is, when it is summer vpon the *Sierre*, and the other moity towards the *Lanos* or sea coast, is greene, and yeeldes his fruite in the other contrary season, when it is summer vpon the *Lanos*, which groweth from the diverse temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The revenue of wine there is not small, but it goeth not out of the country. But the silke that is made in new *Spaine* is transported into other

coun-

countries, as to *Peru*. There were no Mulberrie trees in the *Indies*, but such as were brought from *Spaine*, and they grow well, especially in the province which they call *Mistecqua*, where there are silke-wormes, and they put to worke the silke they gather, whereof they make very good taffataes: Yet to this day they have made neyther damaske, sattin, nor velvet. The sugar yet is a greater revenue, for they not only spend it at the *Indies*, but also they carry much into *Spaine*, for the canes grow exceeding well in many parts of the *Indies*. They have built their engins in the Ilands, in *Mexico*, in *Peru*, and in other partes, which yeeldeth them a very great revenue.

It was tolde me, that the engine for sugar in *Nasca*, was worth yeerely above thirty thousand peeces of revenue. That of *Chicama* ioyning to *Truxillo*, was likewise of great revenue, and those of new *Spaine* are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the *Indies*. They brought from the Iland of S. *Dominique*, in the fleete wherein I came eight hundred ninety eight chests of sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at *Port Ricco* (every chest (in my opinion) weied eight arobes, every arobes weighing five and twenty pounds, which are two hundred weight of sugar) is the chiefe revenue of these Ilands, so much are men given to the desire of sweete things. There are likewise olives and olive trees at the *Indies*, I say in *Mexico* and in *Peru*, yet hath there not beene to this day any mill for oile, for that they eate all their olives, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make oile than the profit, and therefore they carry all the oyle they do spend from *Spaine*. And heere we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the *Indies*.

Of Beasts bearing wooll, and of Kine. CHAP. 33.

I finde there are three kindes of beasts at the *Indies*, whereof some have been carried from *Spaine*; others are of the same kinde we have in *Europe*, and yet not carried by the Spaniardes; and others are proper to the *Indies*, whereof there are none in *Spaine*. Of the first kinde are sheepe, kine, goates, swine, horses, asses, dogs, cattes and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the *Indies*. The smaller cattell have greatly multiplied, and if they could make profite of their woolls by sending them into *Europe*, it were one of the greatest riches the *Indies* had, for there the flockes of sheepe have great pastures, whereas their feeding failes not. In *Peru* there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but every man feedes his troupes where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as milke, and cheese. For a time they lost their woolles, vntill that some beganne to husband it, and to make cloth and coverings, which hath beene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the countrie, for that the cloth of *Castille* is very deere there. There are many Clothiers in *Peru*, but more in new *Spaine*, yet the cloth that comes from *Spaine*, is farre better, whether the woll be more fine, or the worke-men more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea, a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they have not many lesse. If this were in *Europe*, it were a very great substance, but in that countrie it is but a meane wealth. In many partes of the *Indies*, and

Beast carry from Spain

I thinke in the greateſt part, ſmall cattell do not increaſe and profite well, by reaſon that the graſſe is high, and the ſoile ſo vicious, that they cannot feede ſo well as great cattell. And therefore there is an infinite number of kine, whereof there are two kindes. Some are tame and go in troupes, as in the Land of *Charca*, and other Provinces of *Perú*, as alſo in all new *Spaine*: from theſe tame kine they draw ſuch profite as they do in *Spaine*, that is, the fleſh, butter, calves, and oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which live in the mountaines and forreſts, and therefore they tame them not, neither have they any maſter to whom they are proper, both for the roughnes and thickenes of the forreſt, as alſo for the great multitude there is, and he that firſt killes them, is the maſter, as of any wilde beaſt. Theſe wilde kine have ſo multiplied in S. *Dominique*, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thouſands, having no maſter to whom they appertaine. They hunt theſe beaſts onely for their hides, they go to the field on horſe-backe with their weapons to hough them, courſing the kine: and when they have ſtrucken any and ſtaied them, they are their owne, they flea them and carry the hides home, leaving the fleſh, which every one neglects for the aboundance there is, ſo as ſome have teſtified in this Iland, that in ſome places the aire hath been corrupted with the aboundance of theſe ſtinking carcaſes. The hides they bring into *Spaine*, is one of the beſt revenues of the Ilands, & of new *Spaine*. In the fleet the yere 1587. there came from S. *Dominique*, 35444. hides, and from new *Spaine*, 64350. which they value at 96532. peeces, ſo as when they diſcharge one of theſe fleetes, it is admirable to behold the river of *Seville*, and in the arcenall

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(where they vnlade,) so many hides, and so much marchandize. There are also great numbers of goates, whose cheese profite is their tallowe, besides their kid-milke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore vse this tallowe for lightes, for as there is a great quantitie, so do they make very good accoumpt of it; yea, more then of oyle, but all the tallow they vse is onely of the males. They vse their skinnes for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from *Castill.* Horses have multiplied there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many partes there are races found as good as the best in *Spaine*, as well for passing of a carrier, and for pompe, as also for travell: and therefore they vse horses most commonly, although there be no want of moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their carriages by land. There is no great numbers of asses, having no great vse for them, neither for travell nor service. There are some few cammells; I have seene some in *Peru*, that were brought from the *Canaries*, and have multiplied there a little. In S. *Dominique*, dogges have so multiplied in number and bignes, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the sheepe, and go in troupes through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill woolves in *Spaine*. At the first there were no dogges at the *Indies* but some beasts like vnto little dogges, the which the Indians call *Alco*, and therefore they call all dogges that go from *Spaine*, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The Indians doe so love these little dogges, that they will spare their meate to feede them, so as when they travell in the countrie, they carrie them with them vpon their shoulders, or in

their

their bosomes, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any vse, but onely for company.

Of some Beasts of Europe, which the Spaniardes found at the Indies, and how they should passe thither.

Chap. 34.

IT is certaine that they have carried from *Spaine* all these beasts whereof I have spoken, of which kindes there were none at the *Indies*, when they were first discovered about a hundred yeares since; for besides that it may be wel approved by witnesses at this day living. It is also a sufficient argument to see that the Indians in their tongue, have no proper words to signifie these beasts, but they vse the same Spanish names, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I have found this a good rule, to discerne what things the Indians had before the Spaniardes came there, and what they had not: for they gave names to those they had and knew before, and have given new names to these that are newly come vnto them, which commonly are the same Spanish names, although they pronounce them after their maner, as for a horse, wine, and wheate. They found of some sortes of beasts that are in *Europe*, & were not carried thither by the Spaniards. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce & wilde beasts, whereof we have treated in the first booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the *Indies* by Sea, being impossible to swimme the Ocean: and it were a follie to imagine that men had imbarked them with them.

It

it followes therefore that this worlde ioynes with the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplied this world. The lions which I have seene, are not red, neither have they such haire as they vsually paint them with. They are grey, and not so furious as they seeme in pictures. The *Indians* assemble in troupes to hunt the lion, and make as it were a circle, which they do call *Chaco*, wherewith they inviron them, and after they kil them with stones, staves, and other weapons. These lions vse to climbe trees, where being mounted, the *Indians* kil them with launces and crossebowes, but more easily with harquebuzes. The Tygres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meete, because they breake foorth and assaile men in treason: They are spotted, as the Historiographers describe them. I have heard some report that these Tygres were very fierce against the *Indians*, yet would they not adventure at all vppon the Spaniards, or very little; and that they would choose an *Indian* in the middest of many Spaniardes, and carry him away. *Genes. 6.*

The Beares which in *Cusco* they call *Otoioncos*, be of the same kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few swarmes of Bees, for that their honnie-combes are found in trees, or vnder the ground, and not in hives as in *Castille*. The honny combes which I have seene in the Province of *Charcas*, which they call *Chiguanas*, are of a grey colour, having little iuyce, and are more like vnto sweete strawe, than to hony combs. They say the Bees are litle, like vnto flies; and that they swarme vnder the earth. The hony is sharp and black, yet in some places there is better, and the combes better fashioned, as in the province of *Tucuman* in *Chille*,

and in *Carthagene*. I have not seene nor heard speake of wilde boares, but of foxes and other wild beasts that eate their cattell and fowle, there are more than their shepheards would willingly have. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and have not beene transported by the Spaniardes, as stagges and diere, whereof there is great aboundance in all the forrests. But the greatest parte is a kinde of diere without hornes, at the least, I have never seene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like vnto *Cercos*. It seemes not hard to beleeve, but is almost certain, that all these beasts for their lightnesse, and being naturally wilde, have passed from one world to an other, by some parts where they ioyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farre from the maine land I have not heard that there are any, though I have made diligent inquiry.

Of Fowles which are heere, and are at the Indies, and how they could passe thither.

Chap. 35.

WEe may more easily beleeve the same of birdes, and that there are of the same kindes that wee have, as partridges, turtles, pigeons, stockdoves, quailes, and many sorts of falcons, which they send from New *Spaine*, and *Peru*, to the noblemen of *Spaine*, for they make great accompt of them. There are also Herons and Eagles of diverse kindes, and there is no doubt but these birds & such like, have sooner passed thither than lions, tygres, and stagges. There are likewise at the *Indies* great numbers of parrots, especially vpon the *Andes* of *Peru*, and in the Ilands of *Port Ricco* and saint *Dominique*,

minique, where they flee by flockes, as pigeons do here. To conclude, birdes with their wings may goe where they will; and truely many kindes might well passe the gulph, seeing it is certaine, as *Plinie* affirmeth, that there are many that passe the sea, and goe into strange regions, although I have not read that any fowle hath passed by flight so great a gulph, as is the *Indian* Ocean, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of mariners, that you shall finde them twoo hundred leagues and more from the land. And as *Aristotle* dooth teach, that birdes endure the water easely, having little respiration, as wee see in sea fowle, which dive and remain long vnder the water. Even so we may say, that the fowle which bee at this present vppon the maine land, and in the Ilands at the *Indies*, might passe the sea, resting themselves in some small Ilands, or vpon some land which they discovered by a naturall instinct (as *Plinie* reporteth of some) or peradventure falling into the water, when they were weary of flying, and after beganne their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the fowles which we see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleeve certainly that they passed by one of the foresayde meanes. But for other birdes which we finde vppon the maine land, especially those whose flight is shorte, it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kindes that wee have in *Europe*. For at the *Indies* there are great birds, very heavy, as Estridges, whereof there are many in *Peru*; which doe vse sometimes to terrifie the *Indian* sheepe as they do goe with their burthens.

*Pli.li.*10.*c.*23.

*Pli.lib.*10.*c.*15

But leaving these birds that govern themselves without the care of man, but onely for hawking, let vs now

ſpeake of tame fowle; I wondered at hennes, ſeeing there were ſom at the *Indies* before the Spaniards came there, the which is well approoved, for they have a proper name of the country, and they call a henne *Gualpa*, and the egge *Ponto*, and they vſe the ſame proverb wee doe, to call a coward, a henne. Thoſe that were at the diſcovery of the Ilands of *Soloman*, do report that they have ſeene hennes there like vnto ours: wee may conceive that the henne being ſo tame a fowle, and ſo profitable, men might carry them with them when they paſſed from one place to another, as we ſee at this day the *Indians* in their travel carry their henne with them, or chicken vpon the burthen they have on their ſhoulders: and likewiſe they carry them eaſily in their cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the *Indies* many kindes of beaſts and birdes, ſuch as we have in *Europe*, as I have ſpecified, and other ſortes which I leave to others to diſcourſe of.

How it ſpould be poſſible, that at the Indies there ſhould be anie ſortes of beaſts, whereof the like are no where elſe. CHAP. 36.

IF were a matter more difficult, to ſhew, and prove, what beginning many & ſundry ſorts of beaſts had, which are found at the *Indies*, of whoſe kindes we have none in this continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, wee may not then alleadge nor flie to *Noahs* Arke, neither was it then neceſſary to ſave all ſorts of birds and beaſts, if others were to be created anew. Moreover, wee could not affirme, that the creation of the world was made and finiſhed in ſixe dayes, if there were yet other new kinds to make, and ſpecially perfit

beaſts,

beasts, and no lesse excellent than those that are knowen vnto vs: If we say then that all these kindes of creatures were preserved in the Arke by *Noah*, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kindes we finde not any but at the *Indies*, have passed thither from this continent, as we have saide of other beasts that are knowne vnto vs. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde shoulde remaine heere? and how they are found there, being as it were travellers and strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspens. I say for example, if the sheep of *Peru*, and those which they call *Pacos* and *Guanacos*, are not found in any other regions of the worlde, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there? seeing there is no shew nor remainder of them in all this worlde? If they have not passed from some other region, how were they formed and brought foorth there? It may be GOD hath made a new creation of beasts. That which I speake of these *Pacos* and *Guanacos* may be said of a thousand different kindes of birdes and beasts of the forrest, which have never beene knowne, neither in shape nor name; and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the Latins, nor Greekes, nor any other nations of the world. We must then say, that though all beasts came out of the Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the providence of heaven, diverse kindes dispersed themselves into diverse regions, where they found themselves so well, as they woulde not parte; or if they departed, they did not preserve themselves, but in processe of time, perished wholy, as we do see it chaunce in many things. For if we shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the *Indies*, but generall to many other Nations and Provin-

ces of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, where they say there are certaine kindes of creatures, that are not found in other regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the elephant which we finde only in the East *Indies*, and from thence have beene imparted to other regions, wee may say as much of these creatures of *Peru*, and of others of the *Indies*, which are not found in any other part of the world.

Wee may likewise consider well vppon this subiect, whether these beasts differ in kind, and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might growe by diverse accidents, as we see in the lineages of men, some are white, others blacke, some giants, others dwarfes: and in apes, some have no taile, others have: and in sheepe, some are bare, others have fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of *Peru*; others weake and little, having a short necke, as those of *Castille*. But to speake directly, whoso would by this Discourse, shewing only these accidentall differences, preserve the propagation of beasts at the *Indies*, and reduce them to those of *Europ*, he shal vndertake a charge he will hardly discharge with his honor. For if we shall iudge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the *Indies* are so diverse, as it is to call an egge a chesnut, to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kinds of *Europe*.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies.

Chap. 37.

THere are many kindes of notable fowles at the *Indies*, eyther of the same sort that ours be, or of different

ferent. They bring certaine birds from *China*, that have no feete, and all their bodies are almoſt feathers. They ſit not vpon the ground, but hang vpon boughs, by ſtrings or feathers which they have, and ſo reſt themſelves, like flies or aierie things. In *Peru* there are birdes which they call *Tomineios*, ſo ſmall, that often times I have doubted ſeeing them flie, whether they were bees or butter-flies; but in truth they are birdes. Contrariwiſe, thoſe which they call *Condores*, be of an exceeding greatnes, and of ſuch a force, that not onely they will open a ſheepe and eate it, but alſo a whole calfe. Thoſe which they call *Auras*, and others *Poullazes*, (which in my opinion are of the kinde of ravens,) are of a ſtrange lightnes, and have a very quicke ſight, being very fit to cleanſe Citties, for that they leave no carion nor dead thing. They paſſe the night on trees or vpon rockes, and in the morning they come to the cities and townes, ſitting on the toppes of the higheſt buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong have white feathers, as they report of ravens, and ſo change into blacke.

The *Guacamayac* be birdes bigger then Parrets, & reſemble them ſomthing; they are eſteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire & pleaſing. In new *Spaine* there are abundance of birdes with excellent feathers, ſo as there be not any found in *Europe* that comes neere them, as we may ſee by the images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reaſon,) much valued and eſteemed, giving cauſe of admiration, that with the feathers of birdes, they ſhould make ſo excellent a worke, and ſo perfectly equall, as they ſeeme properly to be the true colours of a painter, and have ſo lively and pleaſing a regard, as

the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some Indians which are good and expert workemen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoever they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of *Spaine*, have in this point, no advantage over them. *Don Philip* the Prince of *Spaine*, his schoolemaster, did give vnto him three figures or portraitures made of feathers, as it were to put in a Breviary. His Highnes did shew them to King *Philip* his father, the which his Maiesty beholding attentively, said, that hee had never seene in so small a worke, a thing of so great excelleney and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope *Sixtus quintus*, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of St. *Francis*, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the Indians, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers, for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not iudge nor discerne whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall, done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawny like gold, and other fine colours do cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the Province of *Mechovacan*, and in the village of *Pascaro*. The manner is with small delicate pinsors they pul the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly ioyne them together. They take the smal & delicate feathers of those birds, which in *Peru* they call *Tomineyos*, or others like vnto them, which have the most perfect colours in their feathers. The Indians (besides these images,) did vse feathers in many other most excellent

workes,

workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idolls. There are also other great birdes, which have excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundry colours, especially when they go to warre, inriching them with gold and silver very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They have the same birdes still, but they are not so curious, neither do they make so many gentill devises as they were wont. There are other birdes at the *Indies*, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, the which (besides that they are ill favovred,) serve to no other vse but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profite. I have considered this, wondering at the providence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all creatures should serve man. In some Ilands or *Phares*, which are ioyning to the coast of *Peru*, wee see the toppes of the mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for snow, or for some white land, but they are heapes of dung of sea fowle which go continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many elles, yea, many launces in height, which seemes but a fable. They go with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeelde great abounddance of fruite. They cal this dung *Guano*, whereof the valley hath taken the name, which they call *Limagvana*, in the valleys of *Peru*, where they vse this dung, and it is the most fertile of all that countrie. The quinces, poungranets, and other fruites there, exceede all other in bountie and greatnes; and they say, the reason is, for that the water wherewith they water it, passeth by a land compassed with this dung, which causeth the beautie of this fruite. So as these birdes have not only

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the flesh to serve for meate, their singing for recreation, their feathers for ornament and beautie, but also their dung serves to fatten the ground. The which hath bin so appointed by the soveraigne Creator, for the service of man, that he might remember to acknowledge and be loyall to him from whom all good proceedes.

Of Beasts for the Chases. CHAP. 38.

BEsides the Beasts of Chase, whereof we have spoken, which be common to the *Indies* and *Europe*, there are others which I doe not remember to have seene heere, vnlesse perhappes they have been brought from thence. There are beasts called *Sainos*, made like small hogges, which have this singular to themselves, to have their navill vppon the ridge of their backes: these go by troupes through the woods, they are cruell and nothing fearefull, but contrariwise they assaile, and have their tallents sharpe as rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselves in safetie. Such as hunt them, (for the more safer killing of them,) they climbe vp into trees, whither the *Sainos* or hogges come presently in troupes, biting the tree when they cannot hurte the man, and then with their launces they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessitie cut off the round peece where the navil growes vpon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking pig ges, and they call them *Guadatinaias*. I am in doubt whether there were any swine at the *Indies*, before the Spaniardes came thither, like to these in *Spaine*, for that in the discoverie of the Ilands of *Solo-*

Sainos

man,

man, it is said, they found hennes and swine of *Spaine*. But howsoever it be, it is most certaine, that this cattell hath greatly multiplied at the *Indies*. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to be as holesome and as good, as if it were of mutton; as in *Carthagene* in some partes, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde boares, as we see in S. *Dominique*, and other Ilands where the beasts live in the forrests. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fatte, to have the grease, which they vse for want of oyle; in some places they make gamons, as in *Tolluca* of new *Spaine*, and in *Paria* at *Peru*. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, even as the *Sainos* are like vnto swine, though somewhat lesse; even so the *Dantes* resemble small kine, but more vnto mules, having no hornes. The hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other coverings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoever. And as the *Dantes* be defended by the hardnes of their hides, so those which they call *Armadillos* are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a curasse. There be litle beasts which go thorow the woods, called *Armadillos*, by reason of the defence they have hiding themselves within their scales, and opening when they list: I have eaten of them, and doe not holde it for a meate of any great woorth; but the flesh of the *Yguanas* is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye: for they are like to the very Lizardes of *Spaine*, although they be of a doubtfull kinde, for that they go to the water, & comming to land they climbe the trees vpon the bankes; and as they cast themselves from the trees into the water, the boates watch vnderneath to receive them. The *Chinchilles* is an other kind

of

of small beasts, like squirrels, they have a woonderfull smoothe and soft skinne, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those partes that have neede of a moderate heate; they make coverings and rugges of the haire of these *Chinchilles*, which are found on the *Sierre* of *Peru*, where there is likewise a small beast very common which they call *Cuyes*, and which the *Indians* hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these *Cuyes* in their sacrifices. They are like small conies, and have their borows in the ground, and in some places they have vndermined all the land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small animalles which they call *Viscachas*, and are like to hares, although they be bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common hares there are great store in some parts. There are also connies in the realme of *Quitto*, but the good are come from *Spaine*. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heavinesse, and slownesse in mooving, they call *Perico-ligero*, or the little light dogge, hee hath three nailes to every hand, and mooves both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heavily: it is in face like to a monkie, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth trees, and eates Ants.

Chinchilley

Cayes

Viscachas

Porico ligero

Of Micos or Indian Monkies. Chap 39.

THroughout all the mountaines, eyther of these Ilands of the firme land, or of the *Andes*, there are infinite numbers of *Micos* or Monkies, which are a kind of apes, but very different, in that they have a taile, yea a very long one. And amongest them there are some kinds which are thrise, yea foure times bigger than the ordinary;

ordinary; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and maner of doing is admirable, for that they seeme to have reason & discourse to go vpon trees, wherein they seeme to imitate birds. Going from *Nombre de Dios* to *Panama*, I did see in *Capira*, one of these monkies leape from one tree to an other, which was on the other side of a river, making me much to wonder. They leape where they list, winding their tailes about a braunch to shake it: and when they will leape further than they can at once, they vse a pretty deuise, tying themselves by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they launch themselves foorth, and the first holpen by the force of the rest, takes holde where hee list, and so hangs to a bough, and helpes all the rest, till they be gotten vp. It were long to report the fooleries, trickes, traverses, and pleasant sportes they make when they are taught, which seeme not to come from bruit beasts, but from a manlike vnderstanding. I sawe one in *Carthagene* in the Governours house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible: they sent him to the Taverne for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not possibly gette the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children merte him in the streete, and threw any stones at him, he would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till he had assured his way, then would he returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although hee were a good bibber of wine (as I have oftentimes seene him drinke, when his maister hath given it him) yet would he never touch it vntill leave was given him. They told me moreover, that if hee sawe any women painted, he would

would fall vppon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them.

This may be an addition which I have not seene, but I doe not thinke there is any beast in the world approacheth so neare the conversation of a man, as this monkey doth. They report so many things, which for feare I shoulde be thought to give credite to fables, or they should be so esteemed, I thinke best to omitte, blessing the Author of all creatures, in that hee would create a kinde of beast, onely for the recreation and delight of man. Some report that they carried these *Micos* or Monkies to *Solomon* from the Weast *Indies*, but for my parte, I holde it was from the East *Indies*.

Of Vicugnes, and Tarugnes of Peru. Chap. 40.

Vicugnay

AMongst the most remarkable things at the *Indies* of *Peru*, be the *Vicugnes*, and sheepe of the countrie, as they call them, which are tractable beasts and of great profite; the *Vicugnes* are wilde, and the sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the *Vicugnes* are those which *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, and other Authors call *Capreas*, which are wilde goates, and in truth they have some resemblance, for the lightnes they have in the woodes and mountaines, but yet they are no goates, for the *Vicugnes* have no hornes, as those have, whereof *Aristotle* makes mention; neither are they the goates of the East *Indies*, from whom they draw the Bezar stone; for if they be of that kinde, it were a diverse one, as in the race of dogges, the mastie is divers from the greyhound. The *Vicugnes* of *Peru* are not those beasts which carrie the Bezar stone, in the Province of new *Spaine*, which there they cal *Bezaars*, for that they are a kind of

Arist. libr. 3. de partib. animal. c. 2. lib. 10. c. 72

Stagges

Stagges and Veniſon; yet do I not know in any part of the world there be any of theſe beaſts, but in *Peru*, and in *Chille*, which are countries ioyning one to another. Theſe *Vicugnes* are greater then goates, and leſſe then calves. Their haire is of the colour of dried roſes, ſomewhat cleerer; they have no hornes like Stagges and Goates. They feede vpon the heigheſt tops of the mountaines, which they call *Pugnas*. The ſnowe nor froſt doth not offend them, but contrariwiſe they ſeem to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne moſt lightly; when they meete with any travellers or beaſts, they fly away, ſeeming very fearefull, and in flying they drive their yong ones before them. They do not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings *Inguas* did defend the hunting of *Vicugnes*; if it were not for their feaſts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that ſince the Spaniards entred there, they have given too much libertie to hunt the *Vicugnes*, and by this meanes they are much diminiſhed. The maner the Indians vſe in their hunting, they aſſemble many men together, to the number of 1000. or 2000. yea, more, and invironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game vntill they have compaſſed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and ſo chooſing what they liſt, they let go the reſt, eſpecially the females for breede. They are accuſtomed to ſheere theſe beaſts, and of their fleece to make coverings and rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white ſilke, which laſtes long: and as the colour is naturall and not died, ſo is it perpetuall. The ſtuffes that are made of this wooll, are very freſh & good in ſummer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, & other parts tem-

tempering the exceſſive heate. This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in quiltes, and therefore ſome vſe it to that end, for the triall they have made thereof. They ſay moreover, that this wooll or coverings made thereof, is phiſicall for other indiſpoſitions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they have made any certaine triall thereof. The fleſh of theſe *Vicugnes* is not good, although the *Indians* eate it, and drie it. For the effects of Phyſicke, I will ſay what I have ſeene vppon the *Sierre* of *Peru*, comming one night into a *Tambo* or Inne, being much afflicted with paine in mine eies, thinking they would fall out, (the which dooth commonly happen in thoſe partes, for that they paſſe thorow places covered with ſnow, which is the cauſe of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an *Indian* woman which ſaid to me, Father, lay this to thine eies, and thou ſhalt be cured, it was a peece of the fleſh of *Vicugnes* newly killed & all bloody. I vſed this medicine, & preſently the pain ceaſed, and ſoone after went quite away. Beſides theſe *Chacos* which is the moſt common manner of hunting at the *Indies*, they have vſed another more private to take them, which is, that comming neere, they do caſt certaine lines with plummets of lead, which intangle their legges, ſo as they cannot runne, and by this means they take the *Vicugne*. The chiefe reaſon why this beaſt is eſteemed, is, by reaſon of the *Bezars* ſtone they finde in them, whereof we will intreate heereafter. There is another kinde of beaſts, which they call *Tarugnes*, which likewiſe are wilde, and more nimble than the *Vicugnes*. They are greater of body, and more hote. They have ſoft eares and hanging: they goe not in troups as the *Vicugnes*. I have not ſeene them but alone,

Tarugay

and

and most commonly in high places. They also drawe *Bezars* stones from these *Tarugues*, which are greater, and have more operation and vertue.

Of Pacos, Guanacos, and Indian Muttons.

Chap. 41.

THere is nothing at *Peru* of greater riches and profit than the cattell of the country, which our men call *Indian* sheep, and the *Indians* in their generall language call them *Lama*. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profite and least charge of any that I knowe: from them they drawe meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of *Spaine*. Moreover they have the benefite to carry all things they have neede of, vsing them to beare their burthens: and they have no neede eyther of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he serveth his maister for nought, feeding on the grasse hee findes in the fieldes; so as God hath furnished them of sheepe and mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore nation, so woulde hee in this poynt free them from charge, for that there is much pasture vppon the *Sierre*: and this kinde of cattell hath no neede of any other charge. There are two kindes of these sheepe or *Lamas*, the one they call *Pacos*, or sheep bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and have litle wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger than great sheepe, and lesse than calves, they have a very long necke, like to a cammell, whereof they have good neede: for being high of stature, they have neede of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of diverse colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey and some spotted, which they call *Moromoro*. The *Indians*

had great superstitions in choosing the beasts for sacrifices, of what colour they should be, according to the diversitie of seasons and sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can bee eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruite and profit they yielde, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their service to carry burdens. The *Indians* make stuffs of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselves, the one is grose and common, which they call *Hanaca*, and the other fine and delicate which they call *Cumbi*, they make carpets and coverings, and other exquisite workes, which last long, and have a very faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their maner of weaving their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not find any end in a whole peece. The *Ingua* king of *Peru* had many chiefe workemen, to make this worke of *Cumbi:* and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Province of *Capachica*, ioyning to the great lake of *Titicaca*. They die this wooll into diverse fine colours, with sundry kindes of hearbes, whereof they make many sortes of workes, both course and fine. All the *Indians*, both men and women, woorke in the *Sierre*, and have their loomes in their houses, having no neede to buy any stuffes for their necessary vses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make *Cuschargui*, or dried flesh, the which will last very long, whereof they make great accompt. They are accustomed to drive troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to go in bandes, three hundred, five hundred, yea a thousand in a company, with wine, mays, coca, chuno, quicke-silver, and all other kindes of marchandise, and of silver, which is the best of all. They carry barres of silver from *Potozi* to *Ariqua*, which

which is three score and tenne leagues. I have often wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a thousand or two thousand barres of silver, and much more, which is above three hundred thousand ducats, without any other guard or escort than some *Indians*, which serve onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade and vnlade them, or at the most, some few Spaniardes: and they sleepe all night in the middest of the fieldes, without other guarde: and yet in so long a way and so weake a guarde, they never finde want or losse of anie thing in so great a treasure of silver, so safe is the way in *Peru*. The burthen which one of these sheepe dooth commonly carry, is of foure or sixe arrobes: when their voyage is long they goe not above two, three, or foure leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide those troupes, have their ordinary lodgings, where they are assured to have water and pasture, and there they vnlade and set vppe their tents, making fire, and dressiug their meates, which is not painefull, although it be a sleugmatike and slowe manner of travell. When there is but one dayes iourney, one of these sheepe will beare eight arobes in weight, or more, and beares this burthen eight or tenne leagues in a day, as the poore souldiers were wont to doe, when they marched through *Peru*. This kinde of cattell delights most in a cold aire, and for this cause they live vpon the *Sierre*, and die in the *Lanos*, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these sheepe are all covered with ice and frost, and yet they continue sound and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant to behold, for they will stay vpon the way, raising vppe their neckes, and will looke vpon any one very wistly, and so they remaine a long time, without mooving or any shew of feare, which giveth occasion of laughter,

Six arobes is a hundred and fifty pounds weight.

seeing them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they do growe amazed sodainely; and runne away with their burthens, even to the highest rockes, so as not being able to come vnto them, they are constraind to kil them with an harquebuze, lest they should loose their barres of silver, which they sometimes carry. The *Pacos* will grow reasty vnder their burdens, lying downe, and will endure to be cutte in a thousand peeces before they wil rise when this humor takes them: whereof the proverb growes in *Peru*, to say that one is reastie, to signifie, he is obstinate; for that when any of these beasts is moodie, it is with excesse: the remedy they have is, to stay and sit downe by the *Paco*, making much on him, vntill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They have a disease like to scabbes, which they call *Carache*, whereof they commonly die. The Antients had a remedy, to bury them quicke that had the *Carache*, lest they shoulde infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An *Indian* that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is woorth sixe or seaven peeces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

Of the Bezaars stone. Chap. 42.

THe *Bezaars* stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to *Peru*, whereof some Authors of our time have written whole bookes, which they may reade that desire to have a more particular knowledge. For the present subiect it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call *Bezaar*, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, somtimes

one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like filberds, & lesse; others like walnuts; some like pigeons egges, and others as bigge as a hens egge: and I have seene some as bigge as an orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, som are black, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene guilded. It is no certaine rule to iudge the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of divers films and skins one vpon another. In the province of *Xaura* and other provinces of *Peru*, they find these stones in divers kinds of beasts, both wild and tame, as in the *Guanacos*, *Pacos*, *Vicugnes*, and *Tarugues*, some adde an other kind, which they say are wilde goates, which the Indians call *Cypris*. These other kindes of beastes are very well knowen in *Peru*, whereof wee have already discourſed. The *Guanacos* or country sheepe, or *Pacos*, have commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approoved for the vse of Physicke. They draw the greatest *Bezaar* stones from the *Vicugnes*, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are helde for the better. They esteem those of the *Tarugues* for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they have the filmes commonly bigger and thicker than the rest.

They finde the *Bezaar* stone equally both in male and female. All beasts that ingender it, chaw the cuid, and commonly feede vpon the snow and rockes. The Indians reporte & teach by tradition from their fathers and Antients, that in the province of *Xaura*, and in o-

ther provinces of *Peru*, there are many herbs and venomous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: amiddest which venomous hearbs there is one very well knowne of the *Vicugne*, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the *Bezaar* stone, which eate this hearb, and by meanes thereof they preserve themselves from the poisoned waters and pastures: and they say, that of this hearb the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poyson and other woonderfull effects. This is the opinion & tradition of the Indians, discovered by men of great experience in the kingdome of *Peru*, which agrees with reason, and with that which *Plinie* reports of the mountaine goates, which are nourished and fed vpon poison without suffering any harme. The Indians being demaunded, why the sheepe, kine, goates, and calves, such as are in *Castille*, have not the *Bezaar* stone, seeing that they feede on the same rockes: their answer is, That they beleeve not, that those beasts of *Castille* eate of that hearb, or that they have found the *Bezaar* stone in stags and fallow diere. This seemes to agree with our knowlege, for that in new *Spaine* they find the *Bezaar* stone, although there be no *Vicugnes*, *Pacos*, *Tarugues*, nor *Guanacos*, but only stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

Pli. lib. 10. c. 72

The principall vertue of the *Bezaar* stone is against poison and venomous diseases, although there bee heerein divers opinions, some hold it for a mockerie, others for a miracle. Howsoever it be, it is most certaine that it is of a great operation, when it is applied in time, & convenient in a maner, as hearbes, and to persons capable and disposed: for there is no medicine

that

that doth alwaies cure infallibly. In *Spaine* and *Italie*, we have seene admirable effects of this stone, against the *Taverdette*, which is a kinde of plague, but not so much as in *Peru*. They do apply it beaten and put into some liquor, which may make it fit for the cure of melancholy, the falling sickenes, pestilent feavers, & many other diseases. Some take it in wine, others in vineger, with water *Dezahac*, of *Leangue de beufe*, borrage and other sortes, as the Phisitians and Apoticaries can tell. The *Bezaar* stone hath no proper savour, as *Rasis* the *Arabian* doth testifie. Wee have seene notable trialls, and there is no doubt but the Author of this vniversall world, hath given great vertues to this stone. The *Bezaar* stones which comes from the East *Indies*, have the first place of account, they are of an olive colour, the second are those of *Peru*, and the third those of New *Spaine*. Since that these stones were in request, they say, the Indians have made artificiall ones; and many when they see these stones greater then the ordinarie, they take them to be false and counterfait: triall and experience is the best mistres to know them. One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned vpon very strange things, as vpon the tagge of a point, vpon a pinne, or a peece of wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet do they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken vpon it, and growes one vpon another, and so it increaseth. I did see in *Peru*, two stones fashioned vpon *Pignons* of *Castille*, which made vs to wonder much, for that in all *Peru*, we had not seene any pines or *Pignons* of *Castille*, if they were not brought from *Spaine*, which seemes to me very extraordinary. This little may suffice touching the *Bezaars* stone. They

bring other phiſicall ſtones from the *Indies*, as the ſtone of *Hyiada*, or of *Rate*, the bloud ſtone, the ſtones of milke, and of the ſea. Thoſe which they call *Cornerinas*, for the heart, whereof there is no neede to ſpeake, having nothing common with the ſubiect of beaſtes, whereof we have intreated: which gives vs to vnderſtand how the great Maſter and Author of all, hath imparted his benefites and wonderfull ſecrets, to all partes of the world, for the which he is to be glorified for ever.

(* * *)

HAving intreated of the Natural Hiſtorie of the Indies, I will hereafter diſcourſe of the Morall Hiſtory, that is to ſay, of the deeds and cuſtomes of the Indies. For after the heaven, the temperature, the ſcituation, & the qualities of the new world; after the elements & mixtures; I mean mettals, plants, & beaſts, whereof we have ſpoken in the former Bookes, as occaſion did ſerve: both Order & Reaſon doth invite vs to continue and vndertake the diſcourſe of thoſe men which inhabite the new world. And therefore I pretend in the following bookes, to ſpeake what I thinke worthie of this ſubiect. And for that the intention of this Hiſtorie, is not onely to give knowledge of what hath paſſed at the Indies, but alſo to continue this knowledge, to the fruite we may gather by it, which is to helpe this people for their ſoules health, and to glorifie the Creator and Redeemer, who hath drawne them from the obſcure darkenes of their infidelitie, and imparted vnto them the admirable light of his Goſpel. And therefore I will firſt ſpeake in theſe bookes following, what concernes their religion, or ſuperſtition, their cuſtomes, their idolatries, and their ſacrifices; and after, what concernes their policie and government, their lawes, cuſtomes, and their deedes. And for that the memorie is preſerved amongſt the Mexicaine Nation, of their beginnings, ſucceſſions, warres, and other things worthie the relation: beſides, that which ſhall be handled in the ſixt booke, I will make a peculiar Diſcourſe in the ſeventh, ſhewing the diſpoſition and forewarnings this Nation had of the new Kingdome of Chriſt our Lord, which ſhould be extended in theſe Countries, and ſhould conquer them to himſelfe, as he hath done in all the reſt of the world. The which in truth is a thing worthie of great conſideration, to ſee how the divine providence hath appointed, that the light

of

of his word ſhould finde a paſſage in the furtheſt boundes of the world. It is not my proiect at this time to write what the Spaniardes have done in thoſe partes, for there are bookes enow written vpon this ſubiect, nor yet how the Lordes ſervants have laboured and profited, for that requires a new labour. I will onely content my ſelfe to plant this Hiſtorie and relation at the doores of the Goſpel, ſeeing it is alreadie entered, and to make knowne the Naturall and Morall things of the Indies; *to the end that Chriſtianitie may be planted and augmented, as it is expounded at large in the bookes we have written,* De procuranda Indiorum ſalute. *And if any one wonder at ſome faſhions & cuſtomes of the* Indies, *& wil ſcorne them as fooles, or abhorre them as diveliſh and inhumane people, let him remember that the ſame things, yea, worſe, have beene ſeene amongſt the Greekes and Romans, who have commanded the whole world, as we may eaſily vnderſtand, not onely of our Authors, as* Euſebius, *of* Ceſarea, Clement Alexandrine, *and others, but alſo of their owne; as* Plinie, Denis Halicarnaſſis, *and* Plutarke: *for the Prince of darkenes being the head of all Infidelitie, it is no new thing to finde among Infidells, cruelties, filthines, and follies fit for ſuch a Maſter. And although the ancient Gentiles have farre ſurpaſſed theſe of the new world in valour and naturall knowledge, yet may wee obſerve many things in them worthie the remembrance. But to conclude, they ſhew to be barbarous people, who being deprived of the ſupernaturall light, want likewiſe philoſophie and naturall knowledge.*

THE

THE FIFT BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies.

That the Pride and Malice of the Divell, hath beene the cause of Idolatrie. CHAP. I.

THE Pride and Presumption of the Divell is so great & obstinate, that alwaies hee seekes and strives to be honoured as God: and doth arrogate to himselfe all hee can; whatsoever doth appertaine to the most high God, hee ceaseth not to abuse the blinde Nations of the world, vpon whom the cleere light of the holy Gospel hath not yet shone. Wee reade in *Iob* of this prowd tyrant, who settes his eyes aloft, and amongst all the sonnes of pride, he is the King. The holy Scripture instructes vs plainely of his vile intentions, and his overweening treason, whereby he hath pretended to make his Throne, equall vnto Gods, saying in *Esay*, *Thou diddest say within thy selfe, I will mount vp to heaven,* *Iob.41.* *Esa.14.*

and

and set my chaire vpon all the starres of heaven, and I will sit vpon the toppe of the Firmament, and in the sides of the North, I will ascend above the height of the cloudes, and will be like to the most High. And in Ezechiel, *Thy heart was lifted vp, and thou hast said, I am God, and have set in the chaire of God in the midst of the sea.* Thus doth Sathan continually persist in this wicked desire, to make himselfe God. And although the iust and severe chastisement of the most high hath spoiled him of all his pompe and beautie, which made him grow prowd, being intreated as his fellonie and indiscretion had deserved, as it is written by the same Prophets; yet hath he left nothing of his wickednes and perverse practises, the which hee hath made manifest by all meanes possible, like a mad dogge that bites the sword wherewith he is strucken. For as it is written, the pride of such as hate God, doth alwaies increase. Hence comes the continuall and strange care which this enemie of God hath alwaies had, to make him to be worshipt of men, inventing so many kinds of Idolatries, wherby he hath so long held the greteſt part of the world in subiection; so as there scarce remaines any one corner for God & his people of *Israel*. And since the power of the Gospel hath vanquished and disarmed him, and that by the force of the Crosse, hee hath broken and ruined the most important and puissant places of his kingdome with the like tyrannie, hee hath begunne to assaile the barbarous people and Nations fartheſt off, striving to maintaine amongst them his false and lying divinitie, the which the Sonne of God had taken from him in his Church, tying him with chaines as in a cage or prison, like a furious beast to his great confusion, & reioycing of the servants of God, as he doth signify in *Iob*.

Ezech. 28.

Mat. 12.

But

But in the end, although idolatrie had beene rooted out of the beſt and moſt notable partes of the worlde, yet he hath retired himſelf into the moſt remote parts, and hath ruled in that other part of the worlde, which although it be much inferiour in nobilitie, yet is it not of leſſe compaſſe. There are two cauſes and chiefe motives, for the which the divell hath ſo much laboured to plant idolatry and all infidelity, ſo as you ſhall hardly finde any Nation where there is not ſome markes thereof. The one is this great preſumption and pride, which is ſuch, that whoſo would conſider, how hee durſt affront the very Sonne of God, and true God in ſaying impudently, that he ſhould fall downe and worſhip him: the which he did, although he knew not certainely that this was the very God, yet had he ſome opinion that it was the Sonne of God. A moſt cruell and horrible pride, to dare thus impudently affront his God; truely he ſhall not finde it very ſtrange, that hee makes himſelfe to be worſhipped as God, by ignorant Nations, ſeeing hee would ſeeke to be worſhipped by God himſelfe, calling himſelfe God, being an abhominable and deteſtable creature. The other cauſe and motive of idolatrie, is the mortall hatred hee hath conceived for ever againſt mankinde. For as our Saviour ſaith, hee hath beene a murtherer from the beginning, and holdes it as a condition and inſeparable qualitie of his wickedneſſe. And for that he knowes the greateſt miſery of man, is to worſhip the creature for God: for this reaſon hee never leaves to invent all ſortes of Idolatries, to deſtroy man, and make him ennemy to God. There are two miſchiefes which the divell cauſeth in idolatry; the one, that hee denies his God, according to the text, *Thou haſt left thy God who created thee:* The other *Mat.4.* *Deut.32.*

ther is, that hee dooth subiect himselfe to a thing baser than himselfe; for that all creatures are inferior to the reasonable, and the divell, although hee be superior to man in nature, yet in estate he is much inferior, seeing that man in this life is capable of Divinitie and Eternitie. By this meanes God is dishonoured, and man lost in all parts by idolatry, wherwith the divell in his pride is well content.

Of many kindes of idolatry the Indians have vsed.

Chap. 2.

Sap.14. IDolatry saieth the holy-Ghost by the Wise man, is the cause.beginning, and end of all miseries, for this cause the enemy of mankinde hath multiplied so many sortes and diversities of idolatry, as it were an infinite matter to specifie them all. Yet we may reduce idolatry to twoo heades, the one grounded vppon naturall things; the other vpon things imagined and made by mans invention. The first is divided into two; for eyther the thing they worship is generall, as the Sunne, Moone, Fire, Earth and Elements, or else it is particular, as some certayne river, fountaine, tree, or forrest, when these things are not generaly worshipped in their kindes, but onely in patticular. In this first kind of idolatry they have exceeded in *Peru*, and they properly cal it *Guaca*. The second kinde of idolatry which depends of mans invention & fictions, may likewise be divided into two sortes, one which regards onely the pure arte and invention of man, as to adore the Images or statues of gold, wood, or stone of *Mercury* or *Pallas*, which neyther are, nor ever were any thing else but the bare pictures: and the other that concernes that which really

ally hath beene, and is in trueth the same thing, but not such as idolatry faines; as the dead, or some things proper vnto them, which men worshippe through vanitie and flatterie, so as wee reduce all to foure kindes of idolatry, which the infidells vse; of all which it behooveth vs to speake something.

That the Indians have some knowledge of God.

Chap. 3.

First, although the darkenesse of infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindenesse, yet in many thinges the light of truth and reason works somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreame Lorde and Author of all things, which they of *Peru* called *Vnachocha*, and gave him names of great excellence, as *Pachacamac*, or *Pachayachachic*, which is, the Creator of heaven and earth: and *Vsapu*, which is admirable, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the heaven. The like wee see amongest them of *Mexico*, and *China*, and all other infideIles. Which accordeth well with that which is saide of Saint *Paul*, in the Acts of the Apostles, where hee did see the Inscription of an Altare; *Ignoto Deo*: To the vnknowne God. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach vnto them, saying, *He whome you worship without knowing, him doe I preach vnto you.* In like sort, those which at this day do preach the Gospel to the *Indians*, find no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a high God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in me, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they

Actes. 17.

they no proper name for God. If wee ſhall ſeeke into the *Indian* tongue for a word to anſwer to this name of God, as in Latin, *Deus*, in Greeke, *Theos*, in Hebrew, *El*, in Arabike, *Alla*; but wee ſhall not finde any in the *Cuſcan* or *Mexicaine* tongues. So as ſuch as preach or write to the *Indians*, vſe our Spaniſh name *Dios*, fitting it to the accent or pronounciation of the *Indian* tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the ſmall knowledge they had of God, ſeeing they cannot ſo much as name him, if it be not by our very name: yet in trueth they had ſome little knowledge, and therefore in *Peru* they made him a rich temple, which they called *Pachacamac*, which was the principall Sanctuarie of the realme. And as it hath beene ſaide, this word of *Pachacamac*, is as much to ſay, as the Creator, yet in this temple they vſed their idolatries, worſhipping the Divell and figures. They likewiſe made ſacrifices and offrings to *Viracocha*, which helde the chiefe place amongſt the worſhips which the Kings *Inguas* made. Heereof they called the Spaniards *Virocochas*, for that they holde opinion they are the ſonnes of heaven, and divine; even as others did attribute a deitie to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, calling the one *Iupiter*, and the other *Mercurie*, ſo woulde they offer ſacrifices vnto them, as vnto gods: and as the Barbarians of *Melite* (which is *Malté*) ſeeing that the viper did not hurt the Apoſtle, they called him God.

Actes. 28.

As it is therefore a trueth, conformable to reaſon, that there is a ſoveraigne Lorde and King of heaven, whome the Gentiles (with all their infidelities and idolatries) have not denyed, as wee ſee in the Philoſophy of *Timee* in *Plato*, in the Metaphiſickes of *Ariſtotle*, and in the Æſculape of *Treſmigiſter*, as alſo in the Poeſies of

Pla. in Tim. Ariſt. c. vlt. 2. metaph. Treſmegiſt. Diman. & Aſclep.

Homer

Homer & *Virgil*. Therefore the Preachers of the Gospel have no great difficultie to plant & perswade this truth of a supreame God, be the Nations of whome they preach never so barbarous and brutish. But it is hard to roote out of their mindes, that their is no other God, nor any other deitie then one: and that all other things of themselves have no power, being, nor worke-ing, proper to themselves, but what the great and only God and Lord doth give and impart vnto them. To conclude, it is necessarie to perswade them by all meanes, in reproving their errors, as well in that where-in they generally faile, in worshiping more then one God, as in particular, (which is much more) to hold for Gods, and to demand favour and helpe of those things which are not Gods, nor have any power, but what the true God their Lord and Creator hath gi-ven them.

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, vpon naturall and vni-versall things. Chap. 4.

NExt to *Viracocha*, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they have and do adore amongst the Infidells, is the Sunne; and after those things which are most remarkable in the celestiall or elementarie na-ture, as the moone, starres, sea, and land. The *Guacas*, or Oratories, which the *Inguas* Lords of *Peru*, had in greatest reverence, next to *Viracocha* and the sunne, was the thunder which they called by three divers names, *Chuquilla*, *Catuilla*, and *Intiillapa*, supposing it to bee a man in heaven, with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause raine, haile, thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the region of the aire, where the

cloudes engender. It was a *Guaca*, (for so they called their Oratories,) generall to be all the *Indians* of *Peru*, offering vnto him many sacrifices: and in *Cusco*, which is the Court and Metropolitane Cittie, they did sacrifice children vnto him, as to the Sunne. They did worship these three, *Viracocha*, the Sunne, and Thunder after another maner then all the rest, as *Pollo* writes who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a gauntlet or glove vpon their hands, when they did lift them vp to worshippe them. They did worshippe the earth; which they called *Pachamama*, as the Ancients did the goddesse *Tellus*: and the sea likewise which they call *Mamacocha*, as the Ancients worshiped *Thetis*, or *Neptune*. Moreover, they did worship the rainebow, which were the armes and blazons of the *Ingua*, with two snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the starres they all did commonly worship that which they called *Colca*, and we heere *Cabrille*. They did attribute divers offices to divers starres, and those which had neede of their favour did worship them, as the shepheard did sacrifice to a starre shhich they called *Vrcuhillay*, which they hold to be a sheepe of divers colours, having the care to preserve their cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call *Tyra*. These shepheards worshippe two other starres, which walke neere vnto them, they call them *Catuchillay*, and *Vrcuchillay*; and they faine them to be an Ewe and a Lambe. Others worshipped a starre which they called *Machacuay*, to which they attribute the charge and power over serpents, and snakes, to keepe them from hurting of them. They ascribe power to another starre, which they called *Chuguinchinchay*, (which is as much as Tigre,) over Tigres, Beares, and Lyons, and they have generally beleeved

leeved, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like vnto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did obserue and worship divers starres, as those which they called *Chacana, Topatarca, Mamanan, Mirco, Miquiquicay,* and many other. So as it seemed they approached somewhat neere the propositions of *Platoes* Idees. The *Mexicaines* almost in the same maner after the supreame God, worshiped the Sunne: And therefore they called *Hernando Cortez,)* as he hath written in a letter sent vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift.) Sonne of the Sunne, for his care and courage to compasse the earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idol called *Vitzilipuztli*, the which in all this region they called the most puissant and Lord of all things: for this cause the *Mexicaines* built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The scituation & beautie thereof, may wel be coniectured by the ruines which yet remain in the midst of the Cittie of *Mexico*. But heere the *Mexicaines* Idolatrie hath bin more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the *Inguas*, as wee shall see plainer heereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idolls, as raine, multiplication of cattell, warre, and generation, even as the Greekes and Latins have forged Idolls of *Phœbus, Mercurie, Iupiter, Minerva,* and of *Mars*. To conclude, who so shall neerely looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Divell hath vsed to deceive the Indians, to be the same wherewith hee hath deceived the Greekes and Romans, and other ancient Gentiles, giving them to vnderstand that these notable

Worships Idols see p. 352

creatures, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements, had power and authoritie to doe good or harme to men. And although God hath created all these things for the vse of man, yet hath he so much forgotte himselfe, as to rise vp against him. Moreover, he hath imbased himselfe to creatures that are inferiour vnto himselfe, worshiping and calling vpod their workes, forsaking his Creator. As the Wise man saieth well in these wordes, *All men are vaine and abused that have not the knowledge of God; seeing they could not know him, that is, by the things that seemed good vnto them: and although they have beheld his workes, yet have they not attained to know the author and maker thereof, but they have beleeved that the fire, winde, swift aire, the course of the starres, great rivers, with Sunne and Moone, were Gods and governours of the world: and being in love with the beautie of these things, they thought they should esteeme them as Gods.* Sap. 13. It is reason they should consider how much more faire the Creator is, seeing that he is the Author of beauties and makes all things. Moreover, if they admire the power and effects of these things, thereby they may vnderstand how much more mightie hee is that gave them their being, for by the beautie and greatnes of the creatures, they may iudge what the aMker is. Hitherto are the wordes of the Booke of Wisedome, from whence we may draw a good and strong argument, to overthrow the Idolatrie of Infidells, who seeke rather to serve the creature then the Creator, as the Apostle doth iustly reprehend them. Rom. 1. But for as much as this is not of our present subiect, and that it hath been sufficiently treated of in the Sermons written against the errors of the Indians, it shall bee sufficient now to shew that they did worship the great God, and their vaine

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and lying gods all of one fashion: for their maner to pray to *Viracocha*, to the Sunne, the Starres, and the rest of their Idolls, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine sound with their mouthes, (like people that kissed,) and to aske that which every one desired in offering his sacrifices, yet was there great difference betwixt the wordes they vsed in speaking to the great *Ticiviracocha*, to whom they did attribute the cheefe power and commandement over all things, and those they vsed to others, the which every one did worship privately in his house, as Gods or particular Lords, saying, that they were their intercessors to this great *Ticiviracocha*. This maner of worship, opening the hands, and as it were kissing, hath something like to that which *Iob* had in horror, as fit for Idolaters, saying, *If I have kissed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it shines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the most great God.* Iob. 31.

Of the Idolatry the Indians vsed to particular things.

Chap. 5.

THe Divell hath not beene contented to make these blinde Indians to worshippe the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth and Sea, and many other generall things in nature, but hee hath passed on further, giving them for God, and making them subiect to base and abiect things, and for the most part, filthy and infamous. No man needes to woonder at this barbarous blindnes, if hee remember what the Apostle speaketh of Wise men and Philosophers, That having knowne God, they did not glorifie him, nor give him thankes as to their God, but they were lost in their own imaginations and con- Rom. 1.

ceipts, and their hearts were hardened in their follies, and they have changed the glory and deity of the eternall God, into shews and figures of vaine and corruptible things, as men, birds, beasts and serpents: we know well that the Egyptians did worship the Dogge of *Osiris*, the Cow of *Isis*, and the Sheepe of *Ammon*: the Romans did worship the goddesse *Februa*, of Feavers, and the *Tarpeien* Goose: and *Athenes* the wise did worship the Cocke and the Raven, and such other like vanities and mockeries, whereof the auntient Histories of the Gentiles are full. Men fell into this great misery, for that they would not subiect themselves to the Lawe of the true God and Creator, as Saint *Athanasius* dooth learnedly handle, writing against Idolatry. But it is wonderfull strange to see the excesse which hath beene at the *Indies*, especially in *Peru*: for they worshipped rivers, fountaines, the mouthes of rivers, entries of mountaines, rockes or great stones, hilles and the tops of mountains, which they call *Apachitas*, and they hold them for matters of great devotion. To conclude, they did worship all things in nature, which seemed to them remarkable and different from the rest, as acknowledging some particular deitie.

They shewd me in *Caxamalca* of *Nasca* a little hill or great mount of sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or *Guaca* of the Antients. I demaunded of them what divinitie they found in it? They answered, that they did worship it for the woonder, beeing a very high mount of sand, in the midst of very thicke mountains of stone. Wee had neede in the cittie of *Kings*, of great store of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they cut downe a great deformed tree, which for the greatnesse and antiquitie thereof had beene a long time

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the Oratorie and *Guaca* of the *Indians*. And they beleeved there was a certaine Divinity in any thing that was extraordinary and strange in his kinde, attributing the like vnto small stones and mettalls; yea vnto rootes and fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call *Papas*. There is a strange kinde which they call *Lallahuas*, which they kissed and worshipped. They did likewise woorshippe Beares, Lions, Tygres and Snakes, to thend they should not hurt them: and such as their gods bee, such are the things they offer vnto them in their worshippe. They have vsed as they goe by the way, to cast, in the crosse wayes, on the hilles, and toppes of mountaines, which they call *Apachittas*, olde shooes, feathers, and Coca chewed, being an hearb they vse much. And when they have nothing left, they cast a stone as an offring, that they might passe freely, and have greater force, the which they say increaseth by this meanes, as it is reported in a provinciall Counsell of *Peru*. And therefore they finde in the hie wayes great heapes of stones offered, and such other things. The like follie did the Antients vse, of whome it is spoken in the Proverbs, *Like vnto him that offereth stones vnto Mercurie, such a one is hee that honoureth fooles*, meaning that a man shall reape no more fruit nor profit of the second than the first, for that their God *Mercury*, made of stone, dooth not acknowledge any offering, neyther doth a foole any honour that is doone him. They vsed another offring no lesse pleasant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the eyebrowes to offer it to the Sunne, hills, *Apachittas*, to the winds, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the miseries that many Indians have lived in, and do to this day, whom the divell doth abuse like very Babes, with any foolish illusion whatsoever: So dooth Saint *Chrysostome*

Concil. Limens. 2. p. 2. cap. 99.

Prou. 27.

Soſtome in one of his Homilies compare them, but the ſervants of God which labour to draw them to ſalvation, ought not to contemne theſe follies and childiſhneſſe, being ſufficient to plunge theſe poore abuſed creatures into eternall perdition; but they ought with good and cleere reaſons, to drawe them from ſo great ignorance. For in trueth it is a matter woorthy of conſideration, to ſee how they ſubiect themſelves to ſuch as inſtruct them in the true way of life. Ther is nothing among all the creatures more beutifull than the ſunne, which all the Gentiles did commonly worſhip. A diſcreete captaine and good chriſtian told me, that he had with a good reaſon perſwaded the Indians, that the Sunne was no god. He required the *Cacique* or chiefe Lord, to give him an Indian that were light, to carry him a Letter; which doone, he ſaide to the *Cacique*, Tel me, who is Lord and chiefe, either this Indian that carries the letter, or thou that doſt ſend him? The *Cacique* anſwered, without doubt I am, for he dooth but what I commaund him. Even ſo replied the Captaine, is it of the Sunne we ſee, and the Creator of all things: For that the Sunne is but a ſervant to the moſt high Lorde, which (by his commaundement) runnes ſwiftly, giving light to all nations. Thus thou ſeeſt it is againſt reaſon to yeeld that honour to the Sunne, which is due to the Creator and Lord of all. The Captaines reaſon pleaſed them all; and the *Cacique* with his Indians ſayde it was trueth, and they were much pleaſed to vnderſtand it.

They report of one of the Kings *Inguas*, a man of a ſubtill ſpirite, who (ſeeing that all his predeceſſors had worſhipped the Sunne,) ſaid, that hee did not take the Sunne to be God, neither could it be, for that God was

a great Lord, who with great quiet and leasure performeth his workes, and that the Sunne doth never cease his course, saying, that the thing which laboured so much could not seeme to be God. Wherein hee spake truth. Even so, when they shew the Indians their blind errors, by lively and plaine reasons, they are presently perswaded and yeelde admirably to the trueth.

Of another kinde of idolatry vpon the dead. CHAP. 6.

THere is an other kinde of idolatry, very different from the rest, which the Gentiles have vsed for the deads sake whom they loved and esteemed: and it seemeth that the Wise man would give vs to vnderstand, that the beginning of idolatry proceeded thence, saying thus; *The seeking of Idolles was the beginning of fornication, and the bringing vp of them is the destruction of life; for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever, but the vanitie and idlenesse of men hath found out this invention, therefore shall they shortly come to an end: for when a father mourned heavily for the death of his miserable sonne, he made for his consolation, an Image of the dead man, and beganne to worshippe him as a god, who a little before had ended his daies like a mortall man, commanding his servants to make ceremonies & sacrifices in remembrance of him. Thus in processe of time this vngratious custome waxing strong, was held for a lawe, and Images were worshipped by the commaundement of Kings and Tirantes. Then they beganne to doe the like to them that were absent, and such as they could not honour in presence, being farre off, they did worship in this sort, causing the Images of Kings to be brought whom they would worship, supplying (by this invention)* Wisd. 14.

Idolatry came by Images & how

How could I spirit of God like this, which reproacheth his own Nation will do else?

vention) their absence whom they desired to flatter. The curiositie of excellent workmen increased this Idolatrie, for these Images were made so excellent by their Art, that the ignorant were provoked to worshippe them, so as by the perfection of their Arte, pretending to conteut them that gave them to make, they drew Pictures and Images farre more excellent: and the common people, ledde with the shew and grace of the worke, did holde and esteeme him for a God, whome before they had honoured as a man: And this was the miserable crrour of men, who sometimes yeelding to their affection and sence, sometimes to the flatterie of their Kings, did attribute vnto stones the incommunicable name of God, worshipping them for Gods.

All this is in the booke of Wisedome, woorthy to be noted; and such as are curious in the search of Antiquities, shall finde that the beginning of idolatry were these Images of the dead. I say idolatry, which is properly the worship of Idolles and Images: for that it is not certaine that this other idolatry to worship the creatures, as the Sunne, and the hostes of heaven, or the number of Planets and Starres, whereof mention is made in the Prophets, hath beene after the idolatry of Images, although without doubt they have made idols in honour of the Sunne, the Moone, and the Earth. Returning to our Indians they came to the height of Idolatry by the same meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: first they had a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill scent or corruption above two hundred yeares. In this sorte were their Kings *Inguas* in *Cusco*, every one in his Chappell and Oratorie, so as the Marquise of *Canette* being Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, caused three or foure of their gods to be drawne out and carried to the city of *Kings*, which

by none more then Iesuits

Ier. 10.

Soph. 1.

which bredde a great admiration, to ſee theſe bodies (dead ſo many yeares before) remaine ſo faire and alſo whole. Every one of theſe Kings *Inguas* left all his treaſure and revenues, to entertaine the place of worſhippe where his body was layed, and there were many Miniſters with all his familie dedicated to his ſervice: for no King ſucceſſor did vſurpe the treaſures and plate of his predeceſſor, but he did gather all new for himſelfe, and his pallace. They were not conteut with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but alſo thev made their figures and repreſentations: and every King in his life time cauſed a figure to be made wherin he was repreſented, which they called *Guaoigui*, which ſignifieth brother, for that they ſhould doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honor and reverence as to himſelf. They carryed this Image to the warres, and in proceſſion for rayne or fayre weather, making ſundry feaſtes and ſacrifices vnto them. There have beene many of theſe Idolles in *Cuſco*, and in that territorie, but nowe they ſay that this ſuperſtition of worſhipping of ſtones hath altogether ceaſed, or for the moſt part, after they had beene diſcovered by the diligence of the Licentiate *Pollo*, and the firſt was that of the *Inguas Rocha*, chief of the faction or race of *Hanam Cuſco*. And we find that among other Nations they had in great eſtimation aud reverence the bodies of their predeceſſors, and did likewiſe worſhip their Images.

Of Superſtitions they vſed to the Dead. Chap. 7.

THe Indians of *Peru* beleeved commonly that the Soules lived after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine; ſo as there is little difficultie

cultie to perſwade them to theſe articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies ſhould riſe with the ſoules. And therefore they did vſe a wonderfull care, as it is ſaide, to preſerve the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their ſucceſſors gave them garments, and made ſacrifices vnto them, eſpecially the Kings *Inguas*, being accompanied at their funeralls, with a great number of ſervants and women for his ſervice in the other life: and therefore on the day of his deceaſe, they did put to death the woman he had loved beſt, his ſervants and officers that they might ſerve him in the other life:

Whenas *Guanacapa* died, (who was father to *Atagualpa*, at what time the Spaniards entred,) they put to death aboue a thouſand perſons of all ages and conditions, for his ſervice to accompany him in the other life, after many ſongs and drunkennes they ſlew them; and theſe that were appointed to death, held themſelves happy. They did ſacrifice many things vnto them, eſpecially yong children, and with the bloud they made a ſtroake on the dead mans face, from one eare to the other. This ſuperſtition and inhumanitie, to kill both men and women, to accompanie and ſerve the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day vſed amongſt ſome other barbarous Nations. And as *Pollo* writes, it hath beene in a maner generall throughout all the *Indies*. The Reverent *Beda* reportes, that before the Engliſhmen were converted to the Goſpel, they had the ſame cuſtome, to kill men to accompany and ſerve the dead. It is written of a Portugall, who being captive among the Barbarians, had beene hurt with a dart, ſo as he loſt one eye, and as they would have ſacrificed him to accompany

pany a Nobleman that was dead, hee said vnto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gave him a blind man for a companion, & that it were better to give him an attendant that had both his eyes; this reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him go. Besids this superstition of sacrificing men to the ded, which they vse but to great Personages, there is another far more general & common in all the *Indies*, which is, to set meate and drinke vpon the grave of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon, the which hath likewise beene an error amongst the Ancients, as saint *Augustine* writes, and therefore they gave them meate and drinke. At this day many Indian Infidells, doe secretly draw their dead out of the churchyard, and burie them on hilles, or vpon passages of mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They have also vsed to put gold and silver in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new garments durable, and well lined vnder the herse.

They beleeve that the soules of the dead wandred vp and downe and indure colde, thirst, hunger and travell, and for this cause they make their anniversaries, carrying them clothes, meate and drinke. So as the Prelates, ni their Synodes, above all things, give charge to their Priests to let the Indians vnderstand, that the offerings that are set vpon the sepulchre, is not to feede the dead, but for the poore and ministers, and that God alone dooth feede the soules in the other life; seeing they neither eate nor drinke any corporall thing, being very needefull they should vnderstand it, lest they should convert this religious vse into a superstition of the gentiles, as many doe.

of

Of the manner of burying the dead among the Mexicaine and sundrie other Nations.

Chap. 8.

HAving reported what many nations of *Peru* have done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the Mexicaines in this poynt, whose mortuaries were much solempnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the priests and religious of *Mexico* (who lived there with a strange observance, as shall be saide heereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their gardens, and in the courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were doone in the mountaines: others burnt them, and after buryed the ashes in theyr Temples; and they buryed them all, with whatsoever they had, of apparel, stones, and jewells. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, & with them, the jewells, stones, and earerings of the dead, how rich and pretious soever. They did sing the funerall offices, like to answeres, and did often lift vp the dead bodies, dooing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of qualitie, they gave apparrell to all such as came to the interrement. When any one dyed, they layd him open in a chamber, vntill that all his kinsfolkes and friendes were come, who brought presents vnto the dead, and saluted him as if he were living. And if hee were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaves to be put to death with him, to the end they might serve him in the other world. They likewise put to death his priest,

or

or chaplaine (for every Noble man had a prieſt which adminiſtred theſe ceremonies within his houſe,) and then they killed him, that hee might execute his office with the dead. They likewiſe killed his cooke, his butler, his dwarfes, and deformed men, by whome he was moſt ſerved: neyther did they ſpare the very brothers, of the dead, who had moſt ſerved them: for it was a greatneſſe amongeſt the Noble men, to be ſerved by theyr brethren and the reſt. Finally, they put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his houſe in the other world: and leſt poverty ſhould oppreſſe them, they buried with them much wealth, as golde, ſilver ſtones, curtins of exquiſite worke, bracelets of gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they vſed the like with all his ſervants, and ornaments they gave him for the other world. Then tooke they all the aſhes they buryed with very great ſolemnity. The obſequies continued tenne dayes with ſongs of plaints, and lamentations, and the prieſts caried away the dead with ſo many ceremonies, and in ſo great number, as they coulde ſcarce accoumpt them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gave trophees and markes of honour, according to their enterpriſes and valor imployed in the warres and governements; for this effect they had armes and particular blaſons. They carried theſe markes or blazons to the place where hee deſired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in proceſſion, where the prieſts and officers of the Temple went with diverſe furnitures and ornaments, ſome caſting incenſe, others ſinging, and ſome ſounding of mournefull flutes and drummes, which did much increaſe the ſorrow of his kinsfolkes and ſubiects. The prieſt who did the office

was

was decked with the markes of the idoll which the noble man had represented; for all noble men did represent idolles, and carried the name of some one: and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of knighthoode did commonly carry these foresaide markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appoynted, they invironed him with wood of pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire vnto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, vntill that all were converted into ashes, then came there foorth a Priest attired like a Divell, having mouthes vpon every ioynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which hee did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as hee terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this minister had other different habites, according to the quallitie of the dead. I have made this digression of obsequies and funeralls, vpon the idolatry and superstition they had to the dead. It is reason to returne now to our chiefe subiect, and to finish this matter.

The fourth and last kinde of Idolatry the Indians vsed, especially the Mexicaines to Images and Idolls. CHAP. 9.

ALthough in trueth God is greatly offended with these above named Idolatries, where they woorship the creatures; yet the holy-Ghost doth much more reproove and condemne another kind of idolatry, and that is of those that worship Images and figures made by the hand of men, which have nothing else in them but to be of wood, stone, or mettall, and of such forme as God hath given them. And therefore the Wiseman

speaketh

speaketh thus of such people, *They are miserable, whose hopes may be counted among the dead, that have called the workes of mens handes gods, as golde, silver, and the invention of the likenes of beastes, or a fruitlesse stone, which hath nothing more in it than antiquitie.* And hee dooth divinely follow this proposition against this errour and follie of the Gentiles; as also the Prophets *Esay*, *Ieremy*, *Baruc*, & King *David* doe treate thereof amply. It is convenient and necessary that the Ministers of Christ which do reproove the errors of idolatry, should have a good sight, and consider well these reasons which the holy-Ghost doth so lively set downe, being all reduced into a short sentence, by the Prophet *Osee*, *Hee that hath made them was a workeman, and therefore can they be no gods, therefore the Calfe of* Samaria *shalbe like the Spiders webbe.* Returning to our purpose, there hath beene great curiositie at the *Indies* in making of idolles and pictures of diverse formes and matters, which they worshipped for gods, and in *Peru* they called them *Guacas*, being commonly of fowle and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I have seene, were so. I beleeve verily that the Divel, in whose honour they made these idolles, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in treth it was found so, that the Divell spake and answered many of these *Guacas* or idolls, and his priestes and ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his counsells and propheses. In the provinces of New *Spaine*, *Mexico*, *Tescuco*, *Tlascalla*, *Cholula*, and in the neighbour countries to this realme, this kinde of idolatry hath beene more practised than in any other realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions rehersed that they have vsed in that poynt, of the which it shall not be vnplea-

Esa. 44. *Iere.* 10. *Baruch* 6. *Psal.* 113.

Osee. 8.

sant to speake something. The chiefest idoll of *Mexico* was, as I have sayde, *Vitziliputzli*. It was an image of wood like to a man, set vpon a stoole of the colour of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven: this idoll hadde all the forehead azure, and had a band of azure vnder the nose from one eare to another: vpon his head he had a rich plume of feathers, like to the beake of a small bird, the which was covered on the toppe with golde burnished very browne: hee had in his left hand a white target, with the figures of five pine apples, made of white feathers, set in a crosse: and from above issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides hee hadde foure dartes, which (the Mexicaines say) had beene sent from heaven to do those actes and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an azured staffe, cutte in fashion of a waving snake. All these ornaments with the rest hee had, carried his sence as the Mexicaines doe shew; the name of *Vitziliputzli* signifies the left hand of a shining feather.

I will speake heereafter of the prowde Temple, the sacrifices, feasts and ceremonies of this great idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will only shew, that this idoll thus richly appareled and deckt, was set vpon an high Altare, in a small peece or boxe, well covered with linnen clothes, iewells, feathers and ornaments of golde, with many rundles of feathers, the faireſt and most exquisite that could be found: hee had alwaies a curtine before him for the greater veneration. Ioyning to the chamber or chappell of this idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another idoll they called *Tlaloc*. These

two

two idolls were alwayes together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another idoll in *Mexico* much esteemed, which was the god of repentance, and of jubilies and pardons for their sinnes. They called this idoll *Tezcatlipuca*, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to *Iayel*, being attired with some Gentile deuises after their manner; it had eare-rings of golde and silver, and through the nether lippe a small canon of cristall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had the haire broided and bound vp with a haire-lace of golde burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of golde, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the prayers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselves vnto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a iewell hanging at his necke, so great that it covered all his stomacke: vpon his armes bracelets of golde; at his navill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a fanne of pretious feathers, of greene, azure and yellow, which came forth of a looking glasse of golde, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this looking glasse hee sawe whatsoever was doone in the world. They called this glasse or chaston of golde *Irlacheaya*, which signifies his glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure dartes, which signified the chasticement hee gave vnto the wicked for their sinnes. And therefore they feared this idoll most, lest he should discover their faults and offences. At his feast they had pardon of their sinnes, which was made every foure yeares, as shalbe declared heereafter. They

held this idoll *Teſcatlipuca* for the god of drought, of famine, barrenneſſe and peſtilence: And therefore they paynted him in another forme, being ſet in great maieſty vppon a ſtoole compaſſed in with a red curtin, painted & wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a target with five pines, like vnto pine apples of cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatning countenaunce, and the arme ſtretcht out, as if he would caſt it; and from the target came foure dartes. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choler, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quailes feathers. They vſed great ſuperſtition to this idoll, for the feare they had of it. In *Cholula* which is a commonwealth of *Mexico*, they worſhipt a famous idoll which was the god of marchandiſe, being to this day greatly given to trafficke. They called it *Quetzaalcoalt*.

This idoll was in a great place in a temple very hie: it had about it, golde, ſilver, jewells, very rich feathers, and habites of divers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the viſage of a little bird, with a red bill, and above a combe full of wartes, having ranckes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried vpon the head, a pointed myter of painted paper, a ſithe in the hand, and many toyes of golde on the legges; with a thouſand other fooliſh inventions, whereof all had their ſignifications, and they worſhipt it, for that hee enriched whome hee pleaſed, as *Memnon* and *Plutus*. In trueth this name which the *Choluanos* gave to their God, was very fitte, although they vnderſtoode it not: they called it *QuetZaalcoalt*, ſignifying colour of a rich feather, for ſuch is the divell of covetouſneſſe. Theſe barbarous people contented not themſelves to have gods onely,

but

but they had goddesses also, as the Fables of Poets have brought in, and the blind gentility of the *Greekes* and *Romans* worshipt them. The chiefe goddesse they worshipt was called *Toxi*, which is to say, our granmother, who as the Histories of *Mexico* report, was daughter to the king of *Culhuacan*, who was the first they fleaed by the commaundement of *Vitzliputzli*, whom they sacrificed in this sort, being his sister, and then they begaune to flea men in their sacrifices, and to clothe the living with the skinnes of the sacrificed, having learned that their gods were pleased therewith, as also to pul the hearts out of them they sacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of such as he punished in *Tulla*, as shall be sayd in his place. One of these goddesses they worshipt had a sonne, who was a great hunter, whome they of *Tlascalla* afterwardes tooke for a god, and those were ennemies to the *Mexicaines*, by whose ayde the *Spaniardes* wonne *Mexico*. The province of *Tlascalla* is very fit for hunting, and the people are much given therevnto. They therfore made a great feast vnto this idoll, whom they painted of such a forme, as it is not now needefull to loose any time in the description thereof. The feast they made was pleasant, and in this sort: They sounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the sound whereof they all assembled with their bowes, arrows, netts, and other instruments for hunting: then they went in procession with theyr idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high mountayne, vpon the toppe whereof they had made a bower of leaves, and in the middest thereof an Altare richly deckt, where-vpon they placed the idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpettes, Cornets, Flutes and Drummes, and being come vnto the

place, they invironed this mountaine on all sides, putting fire to it on all partes: by meanes whereof manie beasts flew foorth, as stagges, connies, hares, foxes, and woolves, which went to the toppe flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noyse of diverse instruments, hunting them to the top before the idoll, whither fled such a number of beastes, in so great a prease, that they leaped one vpon another, vpon the people, and vppon the Altare, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the idoll, as stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they vse in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony: which done, they tooke all their prey vppon their shoulders, and retired with their idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the citty laden with all these things, very ioyfull, with great store of musicke, trumpets, and drummes, vntill they came to the Temple, where they placed their idoll with great reverence and solemnitie. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people; and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and daunces before the idoll. They had a great number of other idolles, of gods and goddesses; but the chiefe were of the Mexicaine Nation, and the neighbour people as is saide.

Of a strange maner of Idolatry practised amongst the Mexicaines. CHAP. 10.

AS wee have saide that the kings *Inguas* of *Peru* caused Images to be made to their likenesse, which they called their *Guacos* or brothers, causing them for

to

to be honored like themselves: even so the Mexicains have done of their gods, which was in this sorte. They tooke a captive, such as they thought good, and afore they did sacrifice him vnto their idolls; they gave him the name of the idoll, to whome hee should be sacrificed, and apparelled him with the same ornaments like their idoll, saying, that he did represent the same idoll. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a yeere in some feasts, in others sixe moneths, and in others lesse: they reverenced and worshipped him in the same maner, as the proper idoll; and in the meane time he did eate, drincke, and was merry. When hee went through the streetes, the people came forth to worship him, and every one brought him an almes, with children and sicke folkes, that he might cure them, and blesse them, suffering him to doe all things at his pleasure, onely hee was accompanied with tenne or twelve men lest he should flie. And he (to the end he might be reverenced as he passed) sometimes sounded vppon a small flute, that the people might prepare to worship him. The feast being come, and hee growne fatte, they killed him, opened him, and eat him, making a solempne sacrifice of him.

In trueth it was a pittifull thing to consider in what sort Sathan held this people in his subiection, and doth many to this day, which commit the like cruelties and abhominations, with the losse of the miserable soules and bodies of such as they offer to him, and he laughes and mockes at the follie of these poore miserable creatures, who deserve well, for their offences, to be forsaken of the most high God, to the power of their adversary, whom they have chosen for their god & support. But seeing wee have spoken sufficient of the Indians

idolatrie: it followes that we treate of their Religion, or rather Superstition, which they vse in their sacrifices, temples, ceremonies, and the rest.

How the Divell hath laboured to make himselfe equall vnto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion, and Sacraments. CHAP. II.

BEfore wee come to this point, we ought to consider one thing, which is worthie of speciall regard, the which is, how the Divell by his pride hath opposed himselfe to God; and that which God by his wisedome hath decreed for his honour and service, and for the good and health of man, the Divell strives to imitate and to pervert, to bee honoured, and to cause man to be damned: for as we see the great God hath Sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Ministers, dedicated to his divine service and holy ceremonies, so the Divell hath his sacrifices, priests, his kinds of sacraments, his ministers appointed, his secluded and fained holinesse, with a thousand sortes of false prophets. All which will bee pleasant to vnderstand, being declared in particular, and of no small fruite for him that shall remember, how the Divell is the father of lies, as the truth saieth in the Gospel; and therefore hee seekes to vsurpe to himselfe the glorie of God, and to counterfait the light by his darknes. The Sooth-saiers of *Egipt* taught by their master Sathan, laboured to do wonders, like vnto those of *Moses* and *Aron*, to be equall vnto them. We reade in the Booke of *Iudges*, of that *Micas*, Priest of the vaine Idoll, which vsed the same ornaments which were vsed in the Tabernacle of the true God, as the Ephod, the

Iohn.8.

Exod.7.

Seraphin,

Seraphin, and other things. There is scarce any thing instituted by Iesus Christ our Saviour in his Lawe of his Gospel; the which the Divell hath not counterfaited in some sort, and carried to his Gentiles, as may be seene in reading that which we hold for certaine, by the report of men worthie of credite, of the customes and ceremonies of the Indians, whereof we will treate in this Booke.

Of the Temples that were found at the Indies.

Chap. 12.

BEginning then with their Temples, even as the great God would have a house dedicated, where his holy name might be honoured, and that it should be particularly vowed to his service; even so the Divel, by his wicked practises, perswaded Infidells to builde him prowd Temples, and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In every Province of *Peru*, there was one principall *Guaca*, or house of adoration; and besides it, there was one generall throughout all the Kingdome of the *Inguas*; amongst the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called *Pachamana*, is foure leagues from *Lima*, where at this day they see the ruines of a most ancient and great building, out of the which *Francis Pizarre* and his people drew infinite treasure, of vessell and pottes of gold and silver, which they brought when they tooke the *Ingua Altagualpa*. There are certaine memories and discourses which say, that in this Temple the Divell did speake visibly, and gave answers by his Oracle, and that sometimes they did see a spotted snake: and it was a thing very common and approoved at the *Indies*, that the

Divell

Divell spake and answered in these false Sanctuaries deceiving this miserable people. But where the Gospel is entred, and the Crosse of Christ planted, the father of lies is becom mute, as *Plutark* writes of his time, *Cur cessaverit Pithias fondere oracula:* and *Iustine Martir* treates amply of the silence which Christ impосed to divells, which spake by Idolls, as it had been before much prophecied of in the holy Scripture. The maner which the Infidel Ministers & Inchanters had to consult with their gods, was as the Divell had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their idol, & so went bending their bodies & head, after an vglie maner, and so they consulted with him. The answer he made, was commonly like vnto a fearefull hissing, or to a gnashing which did terrifie them; and all that he did advertise or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of these Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great powre of Iesus Christ. There hath beene in *Peru* another Temple and Oratorie, most esteemed, which was in the Cittie of *Cusco*, where at this day is the monasterie of S. *Dominicke*. We may see it hath been a goodly and a stately worke, by the pavement and stones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the *Pantheon* of the Romans, for that it was the house and dwelling of all the gods; for the Kings *Inguas* did there behold the gods of all the Nations and provinces they had conquered, every Idoll having his private place, whither they of that Province came to worship it with an excessive charge of things which they brought for his service. And thereby they supposed to keep safely in obedience, those Provinces which they had conquered, holding their gods, as it were in

Plu. lib. de tract.

Iust. in apol. pro christ.

hostage

hostage. In this same house was the *Pinchao*, which was an Idoll of the Sunne, of most fine gold, wrought with great riches of stones, the which was placed to the East, with so great Art, as the Sunne at his rising did cast his beames thereon: and as it was of most fine mettall, his beames did reflect with such a brightnes, that it seemed another Sunne. The *Inguas* did worship this for their God, and the *Pachayacha*, which signifies the Creator of heaven. They say, that at the spoile of this so rich a Temple, a souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in request, he lost it all in one night at play, whence came the proverb they have in *Peru* for great gamesters, saying, that they play the Sunne before it riseth.

Of the Prowd Temples at Mexico.

Chap. 13.

THe Superstitions of the Mexicaines, have without comparison beene greater then the rest, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatnes of their Temples, the which in old time the Spaniards called by this word *Cu*, which word might bee taken from the Ilanders of S. *Dominique*, or of *Cuba*, as many other wordes that are in vse, the which are neyther from *Spaine*, nor from any other language now vsuall among the Indians, as is *Mays*, *Chico*, *Vaquiano*, *Chapeton*, and other like. There was in *Mexico*, this *Cu*, the famous Temple of *Vitzliputzli*, it had a very great circuite, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of snakes tied one to another, and the circuite was called *Coatepantli*, which is, a circuite of snakes: vppon the toppe of every chamber and oratorie where the Idolls

Idolls were, was a fine piller wruogh twit h small stones, blacke as ieate, set in goodly order, the ground raised vp with white & red, which below gave a great light, vpon the top of the pillar were battlements very artificially mide, wrought like snailes, supported by two Indians of stone, sitting, holding candlesticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished & enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuite of this court, there were many chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the service of the Priests and Popes, for so they call the soveraigne Priests which serve the Idoll. This Court is so great and spatious, as eight or ten thousand persons did daunce easily in round, holding hands, the which was an vsuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible.

There were foure gates or entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at every one of these gates beganne a faire cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Cittie of *Mexico* is built, foure large cawseies in crosse, which did much beautify it; vpon every portall or entery, was a God or Idoll, having the visage turned to the cawsey, right against the Temple gate of *Vitzilipatzli*. There were thirtie steppes of thirtie fadome long, and they divided from the circuit of the court by a streete that went betwixt them; vpon the toppe of these steppes there was a walke of thirtie foote broade, all plaisterd with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high trees, planted in order a fadome one from another. These trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top,

top, and there were roddes did runne from one tree to another, to the which were chained or tied many dead mens heades. Vpon every rod were twentie sculles, and these ranckes of sculles continue from the foote to the toppe af the tree. This Palliſſado was full of dead mens sculls from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournefull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was delivered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tied them in this sort vntill they fell off by morcells; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Vpon the toppe of the Temple were two stones or chappells, and in them were the two Idolls which I have spoken of, *Vitziliputzli*, and his companion *Tlalot*. These Chappells were carved and graven very artificially, and so high, that to ascend vp to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steppes. Before these Chambers or Chappells, there was a Court of fortie foote square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of five hand breadth, poynted in fashion of a Pyramide, it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backes, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shewe heereafter. There were in the Cittie of *Mexico*, eight or nine other Temples, the which were ioyned one to another within one great circuite, and had their private staires, their courts, their chambers, and their dortoires. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with divers sortes of battlements and pictures, with many figures of stones, b-

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ing accompanied and fortefied with great and large spurres or platformes. They were dedicated to divers gods: but next to the Temple of *Vitziliputzli*, was that of *Tescalipuca*, which was the god of penaunce and of punishments, very high and well built.

There were foure steps to ascend, on the toppe was a flat or table of sixe score foote broad, and ioyning vnto it was a hall hanged with tapistry and curtins of diverse colours and works. The doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes covered with a vaile, and none but the priests might enter in. All this Temple was beutified with diverse images and pictures most curiously; for that these two Temples were as the cathedrall churches; and the rest in respect of them as parishes and hermitages: they were so spatious, and had so many chambers, that there were in them places for the ministerie, colleges, schooles, and houses for priests, whereof wee will intreate heereafter. This may suffice to conceive the divells pride, and the misery of this wretched nation, who with so great expence of their goods, their labour, and their lives, did thus serve their capitall enimy, who pretended nothing more than the destruction of their soules, and consumption of their bodies. But yet they were well pleased, having an opinion in their so great an error, that they were great and mighty gods, to whome they did these services.

Of the Priestes and their offices.

Chap 14.

WE find among all the nations of the world, men specially dedicated to the service of the true God, or to the false, which serve in sacrifices, and declare

clare vnto the people what their gods command them. Ther was in *Mexico* a strange curiositie vpon this point: And the divell counterfeiting the vse of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as Acolites, the other as Levites, & that which hath made me most to woonder, was, that the divel would vsurpe to himselfe the service of God; yea and vse the same name: for the Mexicaines in their antient tongue called their hie Priests *Papas*, as they should say soveraigne Bishops, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of *Vitzliputzli* succeeded by linages of certaine quarters of the Citty, deputed for that purpose, and those of other idolls came by election, or being offered to the temple in their infancy. The dayly exercise of the Priestes was to cast incense on the idolles; which was doone foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breake of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at midnight. At midnight all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in steade of bells, they sounded a long time vpon trumpets, cornets and flutes very heavily; which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stept foorth, attyred in a white roabe after the Dalmatike manner, with a censor in his hand full of coales, which he tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altare; in the other hand he had a purse full of incense, which he cast into the censor, and as he entred the place where the idoll was, he incensed it with great reverence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the curtins. This doone, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penaunce, beating themselves, and drawing of blood, as I shall shew in the treatise

tiſe of Penance, which the Divell hath taught to his creatures; and heereof they never fayled at theſe Mattins at midnight. None other but the Prieſtes might entermeddle with their ſacrifices, and every one did imploy himſelfe according to his dignity and degree. They did likewiſe preach to the people at ſome feaſtes, as I will ſhew when we treate thereof. They had revenues, and great offerings were made vnto them. I will ſpeake heereafter of their vnction in Conſecrating their Prieſtes. In *Peru* the Prieſtes were entertained of the revenues and inheritance of their God, which they called *Chacaras*, which were many, and alſo verie rich.

Of the monaſtery of Virgins which the divell hath invented for his ſervice.

Chap. 15.

AS the religious life (wherof many ſervants of God have made profeſſion in the holy Church, immitating Ieſus Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles) is very pleaſing in the ſight of his divine maieſty, by the which his holy Name is ſo honoured, and his Church beutified: So the father of lies hath laboured to imitate and counterfeit him heerein; yea, as it were hath ſtriven with God in the obſervance and auſtere life of his miniſters. There were in *Peru* many monaſteries of Virgines (for there are no other admitted) at the leaſt one in everie Province. In theſe monaſteries there were two ſortes of women, one antient, which they called *Mamacomas*, for the inſtruction of the yoong; and the other was of yoong maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne foorth, either for their gods or

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for the *Ingua*. They called this house or monastery *Aclaguazi*, which is to say, the house of the chosen. Every monastery had his Vicar or Governour called *Appopanaca*, who had liberty and power to choose whome he pleased, of what qualitie soever, being vnder eyght yeares of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

These Virgines thus shut vp into these monasteries, were instructed by the *Momacomas*, in diverse thinges needefull for the life of man, and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwardes they tooke them from thence, being above foureteene, sending them to the Court with suregards, whereof some were appoynted to serve the *Guacas* and Sanctuaries, keeping their virginities for ever: some others were for the ordinary sacrifices that were made of maidens, and other extraordinary sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the *Ingua*; and the rest served for wives and concubines to the *Ingua*, and vnto other his kinsfolkes and captaines, vnto whome hee gave them, which was a great and honourable recompence: This distribution was vsed every yeare. These monasteries possessed rents and revenues for the maintenaunce of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the *Appopanaca* required them for the service of these monasteries. Yea many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the *Ingua*. If any of these *Momacomas* or *Acllas* were found to have trespassed against their honour, it was an inevitable chasticement to bury them alive, or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The divell hath even in *Mexico* had some kind of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeare, and it was in this sorte: Within this great circuit whereof we have spoken, which was in the principall temple, there were two houses like cloysters, the one opposite to the other, one of men, the other of women: In that of women, they were virgines onely, of twelve or thirteene yeares of age, which they called the Maydes of Penaunce. They were as many as the men, and lived chastly and regularly, as virgins dedicated to the service of their god. Their charge was, to sweepe and make cleane the temple, and every morning to prepare meate for the idoll and his ministers, of the almes the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the idoll were small loaves in the forme of handes and feete, as of marchpane: and with this bread they prepared certayne sawses which they cast dayly before the idoll, and his priests did eate it, as those of *Baal*, that *Daniel* speaketh of. These virgins had their haire cutte, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at midnight to the idolls mattins, which they dayly celebrated, performing the same exercises the religious did. They had their Abesses who imployed them to make cloth of diverse fashions for the ornament of their idolls and temples. Their ordinary habite was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at midnight, sacrificing and wounding themselves, and piercing the toppe of their eares, they layde the blood which issued foorth vpon their cheekes: and after, (to wash off the blood) they bathed themselves in a poole which was within their monastery. They lived very honestly and discreetly; and if any were found to have offended, although but lightly, presently they

Dan. 14.

were

were put to death without remission, saying, shee had polluted the house of their god. They helde it for an augure and advertisement, that some one of the religious, man, or woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Ratte or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the chappell of their idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vailes, for that they say, a Catte or a Bat would not adventure to committe such an indignity, if some offence had not gone before, and then they beganne to make search of the fact, and having discovered the offendor or offendors, of what quality soever, they presently put them to death.

None were receyved into this monastery, but the daughters of one of the sixe quarters, named for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I have sayd, the space of one whole yeare: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselves had made a vowe to serve the idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married. These virgins of *Mexico*, especially they of *Peru* had some resemblance to the Vestall Virgins of *Rome*, as the Histories shew, to the end wee may vnderstand how the divell hath desired to be served by them that observe Virginitie, not that chastitie is pleasing vnto him, for he is an vncleane spirite, but for the desire he hath to take from the great God, as much as in him lieth, this glory to be served with cleannesse and integrity.

Of the Monasteries of religious men that the divell hath invented for superstition. Chap. 16.

IT is well knowne, by Letters written by the fathers of our company from *Iappon* the number and multi-

tude of religious men that are in those Provinces, whome they call *Boncos*, and also their superstitions, customes and lies. Some fathers that have been in those countries, report of these *Boncos* and religious men of *China*, saying, that there are many Orders, and of diverse sortes, some came vnto them clad in white, bearing hoodes, and others all in blacke, without haire or hoode, and these are commonly little esteemed, for the *Mandarins* or ministers of Iustice whippe them, as they doe the rest of the people. They make profession, not to eate any flesh, fish, nor any thing that hath life, but onely Rice and hearbes; but in secret they do eate any thing, and are worse than the common people. They say the religious men which are at the Court, which is at *Paquin*, are very much esteemed. The *Mandarins* go commonly to recreate themselves at the *Narells* or monasteries of these Monkes, and returne in a manner alwayes drunke. These monasteries commonly are without the townes, and have temples within their close: yet in *China* they are not greatly curious of idolles, or of temples, for the *Mandarins* little esteeme idolls, and do hold it for a vaine thing, and worthy to be laughed at: yea they beleeve there is no other life, nor Paradice, but to be in the office of the Mandarins, nor any other hel, than the prisons they have for offendours. As for the common sorte, they say, it is necessary to entertayne them with idolatry, as the Philosopher himselfe teacheth his Governors: and in the Scripture it was an excuse which *Aaron* gave, for the idol of the Calfe, that he caused to be made; yet the *Chinois* vsed to tarry in the poupe of their shippes, in little chapels, a virgin imbosst set in a chaire with two *Chinois* before her kneeling in maner of Angels, having a light burning there

Arist. 12. metaph.

Exodus 32.

both

both day and night. And when they are to sette saile, they do many sacrifices and ceremonies, with a great noyse of drummes and bells, casting papers burnt at the poupe.

Comming to our religious men, I doe not knowe that in *Peru* there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in *Mexico* the divel hath set a due observation: for within the circuit of the great temple there were two monasteries, as before hath bin sayd, one of Virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of yoong men secluded, of eighteene or twenty yeares of age, which they called religious. They weare shaved crownes, as the Friars in these partes, their haire a little longer which fell to the middest of their eare, except the hinder part of the head, which they let growe the breadth of foure fingers downe to their shoulders, and which they tyed vppe in tresses. These yoong men that served in the temple of *Vitzliputzli* lived poorely and chastely, and did the office of Levites, ministring to the priests and chiefe of the temple, their incense, lights, & garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places, bringing wood for a continual fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their idoll. Besides these yong men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that served for manuall vses, as to deck the temple with boughs, roses, and reeds, give the Priests water to wash with, give them their rasors to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the governement over them, they lived so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very lowe, with their eyes to

the ground, not daring to beholde them: they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citty foure or sixe together, to aske almes in all quarters: and when they gave them none, it was lawful to go into the corne fields and gather the eares of corne or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Maister not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this liberty, because they lived poorely, and had no other revenues, but almes. There might not be above fifty live in penance, rising at midnight to sound the cornets and trumpets to awake the people. Every one watched the idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altare should die: they gave the censor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, and at night. They were very subiect and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one poynt that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the priest had ended his censing, they retired themselves into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, & drawing blood, from the calfes of their legges with sharpe bodkins: with this blood they rubbed their temples, & vnder their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washt themselves in a little poole appoynted to that end. These yong men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any *Petum*; as the Priestes did: their garments were of a course white linnen cloth they do make there. These exercises and strictnesse of penance continued a whole yeare, during which time they lived with great austeritie and solitarinesse. In truth it is very strange to see that this false opinion of religion hath so great force among these yoong men and maidens of *Mexico*, that they will serve the Divell with so great rigor and austerity, which many of vs doe not in the service

vice of the most high God, the which is a great shame and confusion; for those amongst vs that glory to have doone a small penaunce, although this exercise of the Mexicaines, was not continuall, but for a yeare onely, which made it the more tollerable.

Of Penance and the Strictnes the Indians have vsed at the Divells perswasion. CHAP. 17.

SEeing we are come to this point, it shall bee good both to discover the cursed pride of Sathan, and to confound it, and somewhat to quicken our coldnes and sloth in the service of the great GOD: to speake some thing of the rigor and strange penance this miserable people vsed at the Divells perswasion, like to the false Prophets of *Baal*, who did beate and wound themselves with lancets, drawing forth bloud; or like those that sacrificed their sonnes and daughters vnto loathsome *Belphegor*, passing them through the fire, as holy Writ testifieth: for Sathan hath alwayes desired to be served, to the great hurte and spoyle of man. It hath beene said that the priests and religious of *Mexico*, rose at midnight, and having cast incense before the idoll, they retired themselves into a large place, where there were many lights; and sitting downe, every one tooke a poynt of *Manguay*, which is like vnto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of launcets or rasors, they pierced the calfes of their legges neare to the bone, drawing foorth much blood, with the which they annoynted their temples, & dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the blood, then set they them vpon the battlements of the Court, stickt in gloabes or bowles of strawe, that all might see

3. *Reg.* 18. *Psal.* 105. 4. *Reg.* 11.

and know the penance they did for the people: they do wash off the blood in a lake appoynted for that purpose, which they call *Ezapangue*, which is to say, water of blood.

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not vse one twice. Moreover, these Priests and Religious men, vsed great fastings, of five or ten daies together, before any of their great feastes, and they were vnto them as our foure ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie,) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand thinges to make themselves vnable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night, committing great cruelties and martiring themselves for the Divell, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents.

They did vse to discipline themselves with cordes full of knottes, and not they onely, but the people also vsed this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the idoll *Tezcalipuca*, the which (as I have said before,) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of *Manguey* a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and therewith they whipped themselves, giving great lashes over their shoulders. The Priests did fast five daies together before this feast, eating but once a day, and they lived apart from their wives, not going out of the Temple during those five daies, they did whip themselves rigorously in the maner aforesaid. The Iesuites which have written from the *Indies*, treate amply of the penances and exceeding rigor the *Boncos* vse, all

which

which was but counterfait, and more in shew, then in trueth. In *Peru* to solemnize the feast of the *Yta*, which was great, all the people fasted two daies; during the which, they did not accompany with their wives, neyther did they eate any meate with salt or garlike, nor drinke *Chica*. They did much vse this kinde of fasting for some sinnes, and did penance, whipping themselves with sharpe stinging nettles, and often they strooke themselves over the shoulders with certaine stones. This blinde Nation, by the perswasion of the Divell, did transport themselves into craggy mountaines, where sometimes they sacrificed themselves, casting themselves downe from some high rocke. All which are but snares and deceites of him that desires nothing more then the losse and ruine of man.

Of the Sacrifices the Indians made to the Divell, and whereof. CHAP. 18.

IT hath beene in the aboundance and diversitie of Offrings and Sacrifices taught vnto the Infidells for their idolatrie, that the enemy of God and man, hath most shewed his subtiltie and wickednes. And as it is a fit thing and proper to religion, to consume the substance of the creatures, for the service and honour of the Creator, the which is by sacrifice: even so the father of lies hath invented the meanes to cause the creatures of God to be offered vnto him, as to the Author and Lord thereof. The first kinde of sacrifices which men vsed, was very simple: for *Caine* offered the fruites of the earth, and *Abell* the best of his cattell, the which likewise *Noe* and *Abraham* did afterwardes, and the other Patriarkes, vntil that this ample ceremony of *Levi* *Gen.15.*

was

was given by *Moſes*, wherein there are ſo many ſortes and differences of ſacrifices of divers things, for divers affaires, and with divers ceremonies. In like ſort, among ſome Nations, hee hath beene content to teach them to ſacrifice of what they had: but among others hee hath paſſed farre, giving them a multitude of cuſtomes and ceremonies vpon ſacrifices, and ſo many obſervances, as they are wonderfull. And thereby it appeares plainely, that he meanes to contend and equall himſelfe to the ancient law, and in many things vſurpe the ſame ceremonies. Wee may draw all the ſacrifices the Infidells vſe into three kindes, one of inſenſible things, another of beaſts, and the third of men. They did vſe in *Peru* to ſacrifice *Coca*, which is an hearb they eſteeme much, of *Mays*, which is their wheate, of coloured feathers, and of *Chaquira*, which otherwiſe they call *Mollo*, of ſhelles or oyſters, and ſometime gold and ſilver, being in figures of little beaſts. Alſo of the fine ſtuffe of *Cumbi*, of carved and ſweete wood, and moſt commonly tallow burnt. They made theſe offerings or ſacrifices for a proſperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be delivered from ſome dangers and miſhappes. Of the ſecond kinde, their ordinary ſacrifice was of *Cuyes*, which are ſmall beaſts like rabbets, the which the Indians eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer *Pacos*, or Indian ſheepe, bare, or with wooll, obſerving curiouſly the numbers, colours, and times. The maner of killing their ſacrifices, great or ſmall, which the Indians did vſe according to their ancient ceremonies, is the ſame the Moores vſe at this day, the which they call *Alquible*, hanging the beaſt by the right fore legge, turning his eyes towards the Sun,

ſpeaking

speaking certaine wordes, according to the qualitie of the sacrifice they slew: for if it were of colour, their wordes were directed to *Chuquilla*, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white & smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine wordes: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine vpon them and favour their generation: If it were a *Guanaco*, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to *Viracocha*. In *Cusco* they did every yeare kill and sacrifice with this ceremony, a shorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certaine small baskets of *Coca* into the fire, which they call *Vilcaronca*; for which sacrifice, they have both men and beasts appointed which serve to no other vse. They did likewise sacrifice small birdes, although it were not so vsuall in *Peru* as in *Mexico*, where the sacrificing of quailes was very ordinarie. Those of *Peru* did sacrifice the birdes of *Puna*, (for so they call the desart when they should go to the warres, for to weaken the forces of their adversaries *Guacas*. They called these sacrifices *Cuzcovicca*, or *Contevicca*, or *Huallavicca*, or *Sophavicca*, and they did it in this maner: they tooke many kindes of small birdes of the desart, and gathered a great deale of a thornie wood, which they call *Yanlli*, the which being kindled, they gathered together these small birdes. This assembly they called *Quico*, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the officers of the sacrifice went with certaine round stones carved, whereon were painted many snakes, lions, toades, and tigres, vttering this word, *Vsachum*, which signifies, let the victorie be given vnto vs, with other wordes, whereby they sayed the forces

of

of their enemies *Guacas* were confounded. And they drew forth certaine blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some daies without meate, the which they called *Vrca*, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts be weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheep that a certaine peece of flesh behind the heart were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill augure. They brought certaine black dogs, which they call *Appuros*, and slew them, casting them into a plaine, with certaine ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which sacrifices they did, lest the *Ingua* should be hurt by poison: and for this cause they fasted from morning vntill the starres were vp, and then they did glut and defile themselves like to the Moores. This sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes have ceased, the wars being ended, yet remaines there some relikes, by reason of the private or generall quarrels of the *Indians*, or the *Caciques*, or in their Citties. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shelles of the sea, which they call *Mollo*, and they offered them to the fountaines and springs, saying, that these shells were daughters of the sea, the mother of all waters. They gave vnto these shells sundrie names, according to the color, and also they vse them to divers ends. They vsed them in a maner in all kinde of sacrifices, and yet to this day they put beaten shells in their *Chica*, for a superstition. Finally they thought it convenient to offer sacrifices of every thing they did sow or raise vp. There were Indians appointed to doe these sacrifices to the fountaine, springs, and rivers, which passed through the townes, or by their *Chacras*,

which

which are their farmes, which they did after seede time, that they might not cease running, but alwaies water their groundes. The sorcerers did coniure, to know what time the sacrifices should be made, which being ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed and delivered them to such as had the charge of these sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of winter, at such time as the fountaines, springs, and rivers, did increase by the moistures of the weather, which they did attribute to their sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the fountaines and springs of the desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to fountaines, springs, pooles, brookes, or rivers, which passe by their Citties or *Chacras*, even vnto the fountaines and rivers of the desarts. They have a speciall regard and reverence to the meeting of two rivers, and there they wash themselves for their health, anointing themselves first with the flower of *Mays*, or some other things, adding thereunto divers ceremonies, the which they do likewise in their bathes.

Of the Sacrifices they made of men.

Chap. 19.

THe most pittifull disaster of this poore people, is their slavery vnto the Devill, sacrificing men vnto him, which are the Images of God. In many nations they had vsed to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had been agreeable vnto him, and whome they imagined might best serve him in the other world. Besides this, they vsed in *Peru*, to sacrifice yong children of foure or six yeares old vn-

to

to tenne: and the greateſt parte of theſe ſacrifices were for the affaires that did import the *Ingua*, as in ſickenes for his health: and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gave the wreathe to their new *Ingua*, which is the marke of a King, as heere the Scepter and the Crowne be. In this ſolemnitie they ſacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeares of age, which was a cruell and inhumane ſpectacle. The manner of the ſacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certaine repreſentations and ceremonies: ſometimes they cutte off their heads, annointing themſelves with the blood from one eare to an other.

They did likewiſe ſacrifice Virgines, ſome of them that were brought to the *Ingua* from the monaſteries, as hath beene ſaide. In this caſe there was a very great and generall abuſe: If any *Indian* qualified, or of the common ſorte, were ſicke, and that the Divine tolde him confidently that he ſhould die, they did then ſacrifice his owne ſonne to the Sunne, or to *Viracheca*, deſiring them to be ſatisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of life. This cruelty is like to that the holy Scripture ſpeakes of, which king *Moab* vſed in ſacrificing his firſt borne ſonne vpon the wall, in the ſight of all Iſrael, to whome this act ſeemed ſo mournfull, as they would not preſſe him any further, but returned to their houſes. The holy Scripture alſo ſhewes that the like kinde of ſacrifice had beene in vſe amongſt the barbarous nations of the Cananeans and Iebuſeans and others, whereof the booke of Wiſedome ſpeakes, *They call it peace to live in ſo great miſeries and vexations as to ſacrifice their owne children, or to doe other hidden ſacrifices, as to watch whole nights, doing the actes of fooles, and*

ſo

so they keepe no cleanenesse in their life, nor in their marriages, but one through envy takes away the life of an other, an other takes away his wife and his contentment, and all is in confusion, blood, murther, theft, deceipt, corruption, infidelitie, seditions, periuries, mutinies, forgetfulnesse of God, pollution of soules, change of sexes and birth, inconstancie of marriages, and the disorder of adultery and filthinesse: for idolatry is the sincke of all miseries. The Wise man speaketh this of those people of whome *David* complaines, that the people of Israel had learned those customes, even to sacrifice their sonnes and daughters to the divell, the which was never pleasing nor agreeable vnto God. For as hee is the Authour of life, and hath made all these things for the commoditie and good of man, so is hee not pleased that men should take the lives one from another; although the Lord did approove and accept the willingnesse of the faithfull patriarke *Abraham*, yet did hee not consent to the deede, which was, to cut off the head of his sonne: wherein wee see the malice and tyranny of the divell, who would be herein as God, taking pleasure to be worshipt with the effusion of mans blood, procuring by this meanes, the ruine of soule and body together, for the deadly hatred he beareth to man, as his cruell enemy. *Psal.* 105.

Of the horrible sacrifices of men which the Mexicaines vsed. CHAP. 20.

ALthough they of *Peru* have surpassed the Mexicaines in the slaughter and sacrifice of their children, (for I have not read nor vnderstood that the Mexicaines vsed any such sacrifices) yet they of *Mexico* have exceeded them, yea all the nations of the worlde, in

a sample of Acosta

in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible maner thereof. And to the end we may see the great miserie wherein the Divell holdes this blind Nation, I wil relate particularly the custome and inhumane maner which they have observed: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they vse these solemne sacrifices but of Captives: so as it seemes therein they have followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the sacrifice *Victima*, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it *Hostia quasi ab hoste*, for that it was an offering made of their enemies, although they have applied this word to all kindes of sacrifices. In truth the *Mexicaines* did not sacrifice any to their idolls, but Captives, and the ordinarie warres they made, was onely to have Captives for their sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies alive, and not to kill them, to inioy their sacrifices. And this was the reason which *Motecuma* gave to the *Marquise du Val*, when he asked of him, why being so mighty, and having conquered so many kingdomes, hee had not subdued the Province of *Tlascalla*, which was so neere? *Motecuma* answered him, that for two reasons hee had not conquered that Province, although it had beene easie, if he would have vndertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of *Mexico*, lest they should fall into idlenes and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why he had reserved this Province, was, to have Captives for the sacrifices of their gods. The maner they vsed in these sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palissadoe of dead mens sculles, (as hath beene said,) such as should be sacrificed, vsing a certaine ceremony

mony at the foot of the palisado, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept foorth a Priest, attyred with a shorte surplise full of tasselles beneath, who came from the top of the temple with an idoll made of paste of wheate & mays mingled with hony, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of mays, hee descended the steppes of the temple with all the speede he could, and mounted on a great stone planted vpon a high terrasse in the midst of the court. This stone was called *Quauxicalli*, which is to say, the stone of Eagle, whereon he mounted by a little ladder, which was in the fore part of the terrase, and descended by an other staire on the other side, still embracing his idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this idoll to every one in particular, saying vnto them; this is your god. And having ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should die, went in processiõ vnto the place where they should be sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and having pulled out his heart halfe alive, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrewed and defiled with blood: And to make it the more plaine, fixe sacrificers beeing appoynted to this dignitie, came into the place of sacrifice, foure to holde the hands and feete of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to holde his head, and the sixt to open his stomacke, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them *Chachalmua*, which in our tong is as much, as the ministers of holy things. It was a high dignitie, and much esteemed amongest

them, wherein they did inherite and succede as in a fee simple. The minister who had the office to kill, which was the sixt amongest them, was esteemed and honoured as the soveraigne Priest and Bishop, whose name was different, according to the difference of times and solemnities. Their habites were likewise divers when they came foorth to the sacrifice, according to the diversitie of times. The name of their chiefe dignitie was *Papa* and *Topilzin*, their habite and robe was a red curtin after the Dalmatike fashion, with tassélles belowe, a crowne of rich feathers, greene, white, and yellow vpon his head, and at his eares like pendants of golde, wherein were set greene stones, and vnder the lip vpon the middest of the beard hee had a peece like vnto a small canon of an azured stone. These sacrificers came with their faces and handes coloured with a shining blacke. The other five had their haire much curled, and tied vp with laces of leather, bound about the middest of the head: vpon their forehead they caried small roundelets of paper painted with diverse colours, and they were attired in a Dalmatike robe of white, wroght with blacke. With this attire they represented the very figure of the Divell, so as it did strike feare and terror into all the people, to see them come forth with so horrible a representation. The soveraigne priest carried a great knife in his hand, of a large and sharpe flint: another priest carried a coller of wood wrought in forme of a snake: All six put themselves in order, ioyning to this Piramidall stone, whereof I have spoken, being directly against the doore of the Chappell of their idoll. This stone was so pointed, as the man which was to be sacrificed, being laid thereon, vpon his backe, did bend in such sort, as letting the knife but fall vpon his stomacke

macke, it opened very easily in the middest. When the sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth such as had beene taken in warre, which were to be sacrificed at that feast, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they caused them to mount vp these large staires in ranke, to the place where the Ministers were prepared: and as every one of them came in their order, the six sacrificers tooke the prisoner, one by one foote, another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, casting him on his backe vpon this pointed stone, where the fift of these Ministers put the coller of wood about his necke, and the high priest opened his stomacke with the knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenes, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which he shewed smoaking vnto the Sunne, to whom he did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and presently he turned towardes the idoll, and did cast the heart at his face, then did they cast away the body of the sacrificed, tumbling it downe the staires of the Temple, the stone being set so neere the staires, as there were not two foote space betwixt the stone and the first steppe, so as with one spurne with their foote, they cast the body from the toppe to the bottome. In this sort one after one they did sacrifice all those that were appointed. Being thus slaine, and their bodies cast downe, their masters, or such as had taken them, went to take them vp, and carried them away: then having divided them amongest them, they did eate them, celebrating their feast and solemnitie. There were ever forty or fifty at the least thus sacrificed, for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the Mexicaines in the customes and ceremonies of the service of their gods.

the stone of sacrifice close to the temple staires (p. 384)

Of another kind of sacrifices of men whith the Mexicaines vsed. CHAP. 21.

THere was an other kinde of sacrifice which they made in divers feasts, which they called *Racaxipe Velitzli*, which is as much as the fleaing of men. They call it so, for that in some feasts they tooke one or more slaves, as they pleased; and after they had flead him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appoynted to that end. This man went dauncing and leaping thorow all the houses and market places of the cittie, every one being forced to offer something vnto him: and if any one failed, hee would strike him over the face, with a corner of the skinne, defyling him with the congealed blood. This invention continued vntill the skinne did stinke: during which time, such as went gathered together much almes, which they imployed in necessary things for the service of their gods. In many of these feasts they made a challenge, betwixt him that did sacrifice, and him that should be sacrifyced thus: they tied the slave by one foote to a wheele of stone, giving him a sword and target in his handes to defend himselfe: then presently stept foorth hee that sacrificed him, armed with another sword and target: if he that should be sacrificed defends himselfe valiantly against the other, and resisted him, hee then remayned freed from the sacrifyce, winning the name of a famous Captaine, and so was reputed: but if hee were vanquished, they then sacrifyced him on the stone wherevnto he was tyed. It was an other kinde of sacrifyce, whenas they appoynted any slave to be the representation of the idoll, saying that it was his picture:

They

they every yeare gave one slave to the Priests, that they might never want the lively image of their idoll. At his first entry into the office, after hee had beene well washed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the idoll, giving him the same name. Hee was that whole yeare reverenced and honoured as the idoll it selfe, and had alwayes with him twelve men for his guarde, lest hee should flie, with which guarde they suffered him to goe freely and where hee would: and if by chaunce he fled, the chiefe of the guarde was put in his place to represent the idoll, and after to be sacrificed.

This Indian had the most honourable lodging in all the temple, where he did eate and drincke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serve and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great personages. When hee went through the streetes of the citie, hee was well accompanyed with noble men, he carried a little flute in his hand, which sometimes he sounded, to give them knowledge when he passed: Then presently the women came forth with their little children in their armes, which they presented vnto him, saluting him as god. All the rest of the people did the like: at night they put him in a strong prison or cage, lest he should flie; and when the feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene sayde. By these and manie other meanes hath the Divell abused and entertained these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall cruelty, as it seems a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes five thousand or more, and that there were above twenty thousand sacrifyced in diverse places. The divell to intertaine this murther of men, vsed

a pleasant and strange invention, which was, when it pleased the priests of Sathan they went to their Kings, telling them how their gods died for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselves, & advertised one another, that their gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to be ready to goe to the warres; and thus the people assembled, and the companies appoynted went to field, where they mustred their forces; and all their quarrell and fight was to take one an other for sacrifice, striving on either side to take what captives they could, so as in these battells they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men alive, to give them to their idolls to eate, for after that maner brought they their sacrifice vnto their gods. And wee must vnderstand, that never king was crowned vntill he had subdewed some province, from the which hee brought a great number of captives for the sacrifices of their gods, so as it was an infinit thing to see what blood was spilt in the honour of the Divell.

How the Indians grew weary, and could not endure the cruelty of Sathan. CHAP. 22.

MAny of these Barbarians were nowe wearied and tyred with such an excessive cruelty, in sheading so much blood, and with so tedious a tribute, to be alwayes troubled to get captives, for the feeding of their gods, seeming vnto them a matter supportable; yet left they not to followe and execute their rigorous lawes, for the great awe the ministers of these idols kept them in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people.

people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heavy a yoke. And it was a great providence of God; that the first which gave them knowledge of the Lawe of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good law, and a good God, to be served in this sorte. Heerevpon a grave religious man in New *Spaine* tolde me, that when he was in that Country hee had demaunded of an auntient Indian, a man of qualitie, for what reason the Indians hadde so soone received the Lawe of Iesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other proofe, triall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their religion, without any sufficient reason to moove them. The Indian answered him, Beleeve not Father, that we have embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say, for I will tell you, that we were already weary and discontented with such things as the idolls commaunded vs, and were determined to leave it, and to take an other Law. But whenas we found that the religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for vs, & both iust and good, we vnderstood and beleeved that it was the true Law, and so we received it willingly. Which answer of this Indian agrees well with that we read in the first Discourse, that *Fernand Cortez* sent to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, wherein hee reportes, that after he had conquered the citty of *Mexico*, being in *Cuyoacan*, there came Ambassadors to him from the province and commonwealth of *Mechoacan*, requiring him to send them his law, and that he would teach them to vnderstand it, because they intended to leave their owne, which seemed not good vnto them, which *Cortez* graunted, and at this day they are the best Indians, and the truest Christians that are in New

Spaine. The Spaniards that saw these cruell sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eies they sawe threescore or threescore and tenne Spaniards sacrificed, which had beene taken in a battell given at the conquest of *Mexico*: and another time they found written with a cole in a chamber in *Tezcusco* these wordes; *Heere such a miserable man was prisoner with his companions whom they of* Tezcusco *did sacrifice.*

There happened a very strange thing vpon this subiect, and yet true, being reported by men worthie of credite, which was, that the Spaniards beholding these sacrifices, having opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie yong man, and cast him from the toppe of the staires, (as their custome was,) when hee came at the bottome, he said to the Spaniards in his language, Knightes, they have slaine me, the which did greatly moove our men to horror and pittie. It is no incredible thing, that having his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that *Galen* reportes that it hath often chanced in the sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast vpon the altar, the beasts have breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out alowde, and sometimes did runne. Leaving this question how this might bee in nature, I will follow my purpose, which is, to shew how much these barbarous people did now abhorre this insuportable slaverie they had to that infernall murtherer, and how great the mercy of the Lord hath beene vnto them, imparting his most sweete and agreeable law.

Galen. lib. 2. de Hip. & Platon. placit. cap. 4.

How the Divell hath laboured to imitate and counterfaite the Sacraments of the holy Church.

CHAP. 25.

THat which is moſt admirable in the hatred and preſumption of Sathan, is, that he hath not onely counterfaited in idolatry and ſacrifices, but alſo in certaine ceremonies, our ſacraments, which Ieſus Chriſt our Lord hath inſtituted, and the holy Church doth vſe, having eſpecially pretended to imitate, in ſome ſort, the Sacrament of the Communion, which is the moſt high and divine of all others,) for the great error of Infidells which proceeded in this maner. In the firſt moneth, which in *Peru* they called *Rayme*, and anſwereth to our December, they made a moſt ſolemne feaſt, called *Capacrayme*, wherein they made many ſacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many daies: during the which, no ſtranger was ſuffered to bee at the Court which was in *Cuſco*. Theſe daies being paſt, they then gave libertie to ſtrangers to enter, that they might be partakers of the feaſtes and ſacrifices, miniſtring to them in this maner. The *Mamacomas* of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaves of the flower of Mays, died and mingled with the bloud of white ſheepe, which they did ſacrifice that day; then preſently they commanded that all ſtrangers ſhould enter, who ſet themſelves in order, and the Prieſts which were of a certaine linage, diſcending from *Liuquiyupangui*, gave to every one a morcell of theſe ſmall loaves, ſaying vnto them, that they gave theſe peeces, to the end they ſhould be vnited and confederate with the *Ingua*, and that they adviſed them not to ſpeake nor thinke any ill againſt the

Ingua,

Ingua, but alwaies to beare him good affection, for that this peece should be a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, he would discover them and be against them. They carried these small loaves, in great platters of gold and silver appointed for that vse, & all did receive & eate these peeces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a favour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and devotion: protesting that during their lives, they would neither do nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the *Ingua*: and with this condition they received this foode of the Sunne, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they observed to the Sunne and to the *Iugua* their King. This maner of diveliſh communicating they likewise vsed in the tenth moneth called *Coyarayme*, which was September, in the solemne feast which they called *Cytua*, doing the like ceremonies. And besides this communion (if it be lawfull to vse this word in so diveliſh a matter,) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaves to all their *Guacas*, sanctuaries, or idolls, of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expresly to receive them, to whom they said (in delivering them,) that the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would have them all to worship and honour him, and likewise did sende them in honour of the *Caciques*. Some perhappes will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the *Ingua Yupangi*, (the which is hee that hath made most lawes, customes, and ceremonies, as *Numa* did in *Rome*:) this maner of communion hath continued, vntill that the Gospel of our

Lord

Lord Iesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giving them the right foode of life, which vnites their soules to God: whoso would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the relation which the Licentiate *Pollo* did write, *Don Ieronimo de Loaysa* Arch-bishop of the Cittie of *Kings*, where he shall finde this and many other things which he hath discovered and found out by his great dilligence.

In what maner the Divell hath laboured in Mexico *to counterfaite the feast of the holy Sacrament and Communion vsed in the holy Church.*

Chap. 24.

IT is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speak of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Divell himselfe the Prince of Pride, ordayned in *Mexico*, the which (although it bee somewhat long,) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate, as it is written by men of credite. The *Mexicaines* in the moneth of Maie, made their principall feast to their god *Vitzliputzli*, and two daies before this feast, the Virgins whereof I have spoken, (the which were shut vp and secluded in the same Temple, and were as it were religious women,) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of beetes with rosted Mays, and then they did mould it with honie, making an idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting insteede of eyes, graines of greene glasse, of blue, or white; and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I have said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like vnto that of the idol, wherewith they did attyre

attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured chaire, and in a litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the maidens came forth attired in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the Sifters of their god *Vitzliputzli*, they came crowned with garlands of Mays rosted and parched, being like vnto azahar or the flower of orange, and about their neckes they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldricke-wise vnder their left arme. Their cheekes were died with vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were covered with red parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the idoll one their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the yoong men were, attyred in garmentes of an artificiall red, crowned after the same maner, like vnto the women. Whenas the maidens came forth with the idoll, the yong men drew neer with much reverence, taking the litter wherein the idoll was, vpon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where al the people did humble themselves, laying earth vpon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did observe at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremony being ended, all the people went in procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a mountain which was a league from the city of *Mexico*, called *Chapulteper*, & there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to go to a place neere vnto it, which they called, *Atlacujavaya*, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond *Cuyoacan*, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of *Mexico*, not making any other station.

station. They went in this sort above foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this procession, *Tpayna Vitzliputzli.* Being come to the foote of the staires, they set downe the brancard or litter with the idoll, tying great cordes to the armes of the brancarde, then with great obseruance and reverence, they did drawe vp the litter with the idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing above, and others helping belowe, in the meane time there was a great noise of fluites, trumpets, cornets, and drummes. They did mount it in this manner, for that the staires of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry vp the litter vpon their shoulders, while they mounted vp the idoll, all the people stoode in the Court with much reverence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little lodge of roses, which they held readie, presently came the yong men, which strawed many flowers of sundrie kindes, wherewith they filled the temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their convent, bringing peeces of paste compounded of beetes, and rosted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They delivered them to the yong men, who carried them vp and laid them vp and laide them at the idolls feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could receive no more. They called these morcels of paste, the flesh and bones of *Vitziliputzli.* Having layed abroade these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Levites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their dignities and antiquities, (for heerein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their

their vailes of diverſe colours and workes, every one according to his dignity and office, having garlands vpon their heads, and chaines of flowers about their neckes: after them came their gods and goddeſſes whom they worſhipt of diverſe figures, attired in the ſame livery, then putting themſelves in order about thoſe morſells & peeces of paſte, they vſed certaine ceremonies with ſinging and dauncing. By meanes whereof they were bleſſed and conſecrated for the fleſh and bones of this idoll.

This ceremony and bleſſing (whereby they were taken for the fleſh and bones of the idoll) being ended, they honoured thoſe peeces in the ſame ſorte as their god. Then came foorth the ſacrificers, who beganne the ſacrifice of men, in the manner as hath beene ſpoken, and that day they did ſacrifice a greater number than at any other time, for that it was the moſt ſolemne feaſt they obſerved. The ſacrifices being ended, all the yoong men and maides came out of the temple attired as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly againſt another, they daunced by drummes the which ſounded in praiſe of the feaſt, and of the idoll which they did celebrate. To which ſong all the moſt ancient and greateſt noble men did anſwer, dauncing about them, making a great circle as their vſe is, the yoongmen and maides remayning alwayes in the middeſt. All the citty came to this goodly ſpectacle, and there was a commaundement very ſtrictly obſerved throughout all the land, that the day of the feaſt of the idoll *Vitziliputzli*, they ſhould eate no other meate, but this paſte with hony, whereof the idoll was made. And this ſhould be eaten at the point of day, & they ſhould drincke no water nor any other thing till after noone:

they

they held it for an ill signe, yea for sacrilege, to doe the contrary: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremony, they hid the water from their litle children, admonishing all such as had the vse of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come vpon them, and they should die, which they did obserue very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to vnclothe themselves, and the priests and superiors of the temple tooke the idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many peeces, as well of the idoll it selfe as of the tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gave them to the communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing vnto the rest, both men, women, and little children, who receiued it with such teares, feare, and reverence, as it was an admirable thing, saying that they did eate the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sicke folkes demaunded thereof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration.

All such as did communicate, were bound to give the tenth of this seede, whereof the idoll was made. The solemnitie of the idoll being ended, an olde man of great authoritie stept vp into a high place, and with a lowde voice preached their lawe and ceremonies. Who would not wonder to see the divell so curious to seeke to be worshipped and reverenced in the same maner that Iesus Christ our God hath appoynted and also taught, and as the holy Church hath accustomed? Hereby it is plainely verified what was propounded in the beginning, that Sathan strives (all he can) to vsurp

and

and chalenge vnto himselfe the honor and service that is due to God alone, although he dooth still intermixe with it his cruelties and filthinesse, being the spirite of murther and vncleanenesse, and the father of lies.

Of Confessors and Confession which the Indians vsed. Chap. 25.

THe father of lies would likewise counterfeit the sacrament of Confession, and in his idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the maner of Christians. In *Peru* they held opinion, that all diseases and adversities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedy whereof they vsed sacrifices: moreover they confessed themselves verbally, almost in all provinces, and had Confessors appoynted by their superiors to that end, there were some sinnes reserved for the superiors. They received penaunce, yea sometimes very sharpely, especially when the offendor was a poore man, and had nothing to give his Confessour. This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by women. The manner of these confessors sorcerers whom they call *Ychuiri* or *Ychuri*, hath beene most generall in the provinces of *Collasuio*. They holde opinion, that it is a heinous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The *Ychuyri* or confessors discovered by lottes, or by the view of some beast hides, if any thing were concealed, and punished them with many blowes, with a stone vpon the shoulders, vntill they had revealed all, then after they gave him penaunce, and did sacrifice. They doe likewise vse this confession, when their children, wives, husbands, or their *Caciques* be sicke, or in any great exploite. And when their *Ingua* was sicke, all

the

the provinces confessed themselves, chiefly those of the province of *Collao*. The Confessors were bound to hold their confessions secret, but in certaine cases limited. The sinnes that they chiefly confessed, was first to kill one another out of warre, then to steale, to take another mans wife, to give poison or sorcery to doe any harme: and they helde it to be a grievous sinne, to be forgetfull in the reverence of their *Guacas*, or Oratories, not to observe the feasts, or to speake ill of the *Ingua*, and to disobey him. They accused not themselves of any secret actes and sinnes. But according to the report of some Priests, after the christians came into that Countrey, they accused themselves of their thoughts. The *Ingua* confessed himselfe to no man, but onely to the Sunne, that hee might tell them to *Virachoca*, and that he might forgive them. After the *Ingua* had been confessed, hee made a certaine bath to cleanse himselfe in a running river, saying these words: I have told my sinnes to the Sunne, receive them, O thou River, and carry them to the sea, where they may never appeare more. Others that confessed, vsed likewise these baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to those the Moores vse at this day, which they call *Guadoy*, and the *Indians* call them *Opacuna*. When it chaunced that any mans children died, he was held for a great sinner, saying that it was for his sinnes that the sonne died before the father. And therefore those to whom this had chanced, after they were confessed, they were bath'd in this bath called *Opacuna*, as is saide before. Then some deformed Indian, crookebackt, and counterfet by nature, came to whippe them with certaine nettles. If the Sorcerers or Inchaunters by their lots and divinations affirmed that any sicke body should die, the sicke man makes no dif-

ficulty to kill his owne ſonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to eſcape death, ſaying that in his place he offered his ſonne in ſacrifice. And this cruelties hath beene practiſed in ſome places, even ſince the Chriſtians came into that countrey. In trueth it is ſtrange, that this cuſtome of confeſſing their ſecret ſinnes, hath continued ſo long amongeſt them, and to doe ſo ſtrict penances, as, to faſt, to give apparell, gold and ſilver, to remaine in the mountaines, and to receive many ſtripes vpon the ſhoulders. Our men ſay, that in the province of *Chiquito*, even at this day they meete with this plague of Confeſſors or *Ychuris*, whereas many ſicke perſons repaire vnto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people beginnes to ſee cleerely the effect and great benefite of our confeſſion, wherevnto they come with great devotion. And partely this former cuſtome hath beene ſuffered by the providence of the Lord, that confeſſion might not ſeeme tedious vnto them.

By this meanes the Lord is wholy glorified, and the Divell (who is a deceiver) deceived. And for that it concerneth this matter, I will reporte the manner of a ſtrange confeſſion the Divell hath invented at *Iappon*, as appeares by a letter that came from thence, which ſaith thus: There are in *Ocaca* very great and high and ſtiep rockes, which have prickes or poynts on them, above two hundred fadome high. Amongeſt theſe rockes there is one of theſe pikes or poyntes ſo terribly high, that when the *Xamabuſis* (which be pilgrimes) doe but looke vp vnto it, they tremble, and their haire ſtares, ſo fearefull and horrible is the place. Vpon the toppe of this poynt there is a great rod of yron of three fadome long, placed there by a ſtrange deviſe, at the end of this

rod

rodde is a ballance tied, whereof the scales are so bigge, as a man may sit in one of them: and the *Goquis* (which be divells in humane shape) commaund these pilgrims to enter therein one after another, not leaving one of them: then with an engine or instrument which mooveth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rodde of yron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of these *Xamabuzis* being set in one of the scales of the ballaunce. And as that wherein the man is sette hath no counterpoise on the other side, it presently hangeth downe, and the other riseth vntill it meetes with and toucheth the rodde: then the *Goquis* telleth them from the rocke, that they must confesse themselves of all the sinnes they have committed, to their remembrance, and that with a lowde voyce, to th'end that all the rest may heare him. Then presently hee beginneth to confesse, whilest some of the standers by do laugh at the sinnes they doe heare; and others sigh, and at every sinne they confesse, the other scale of the ballance falles alittle, vntill that having tolde all his sinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the sorrowfull penitent sits: then the *Goquis* turnes the wheele, and drawes the rodde and ballance vnto him, and the Pilgrime comes foorth, then enters another, vntill all have passed. A Iapponois reported this after hee was christned, saying that he had beene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance seaven times, where he had confessed himselfe publikely. He saide moreover, that if anie one did conceale any sinne, the empty scale yeelded not: and if hee grew obstinate after instance made to confesse himselfe, refusing to open all his sinnes, the *Goquis* cast him downe from the toppe, where in an instant he is broken into a thousand peeces. Yet this chri-

ſtian, who was called *Iohn* tolde vs, that commonly the feare and terrour of this place is ſo great to all ſuch as enter therein, and the danger they ſee with their eies, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in peeces, that ſeldome there is any one but diſcovers all his ſins. This place is called by another name *Sangenotocoro*, that is to ſay, the place of Confeſſion: wee ſee plainely by this diſcourſe, how the Divell hath pretended to vſurp vnto himſelfe the ſervice of God, making confeſſion of ſinnes (which the Lord hath appoynted for the remedy of man) a divelliſh ſuperſtition, to their great loſſe and perdition. He hath doone no leſſe to the Heathen of *Iappon*, than to thoſe of the provinces of *Collao* in *Peru*.

Of the abhominable vnction which the Mexicaine prieſtes and other Nations vſed, and of their witchcraftes.

CHAP. 26.

GOd appoynted in the auntient Lawe the manner how they ſhould conſecrate *Aarons* perſon, and the other Prieſts, and in the Lawe of the Goſpel, wee have likewiſe the holy creame and vnction which they vſe when they conſecrate the Prieſtes of Chriſt. There was likewiſe in the auntient Lawe a ſweete compoſition, which God defend ſhould be employed in anie other thing then in the divine ſervice. The Divel hath ſought to counterfet all theſe things after his manner, as hee hath accuſtomed, having to this end invented things ſo fowle and filthie, whereby they diſcover wel who is the Author. The prieſts of the idolles in *Mexico* were annoynted in this ſort, they annointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewiſe, which

which hung like treſſes, or a horſe mane, for that they applyed this vnction wet and moyſt. Their haire grew ſo, as in time it hung downe to their hammes, ſo heavily, that it was troubleſome for them to beare it, for they did never cut it, vntill they died, or that they were diſpenſed with for their great age, or being employed in governments or ſome honorable charge in the commonwealth. They carried their haire in treſſes, of ſixe fingers breadth, which they died blacke with the fume of ſapine, or firre trees, or roſine; for in all Antiquitie it hath bin an offring they made vnto their idolls, and for this cauſe it was much eſteemed and reverenced. They were alwayes died with this tincture from the foote to the head, ſo as they were like vnto ſhining Negroes, and that was their ordinary vnction: yet whenas they went to ſacrifice and give incenſe in the mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obſcure caves, where their idolles were, they vſed an other kinde of vnction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to give them courage. This vnction was made with diverſe little venomous beaſtes, as ſpiders, ſcorpions, palmers, ſalamanders and vipers, the which the boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, wherein they were ſo expert, as they were alwayes furniſhed when the Prieſtes called for them. The chiefe care of theſe boyes was, to hunt after theſe beaſts; if they went any other way, and by chaunce met with any of theſe beaſts, they ſtayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their lives depended thereon. By the reaſon whereof the Indians commonly feared not theſe venomous beaſts, making no more accompt than if they were not ſo, having beene all bred in this exerciſe. To make an ointment of theſe beaſtes, they

took them all together, and burnt them vpon the harth of the Temple, which was before the Altare, vntill they were consumed to ashes: then did they put them in morters with much Tobacco or *Petum* (being an hearbe that Nation vseth much, to benumme the flesh, that they may not feele their travell) with the which they mingle the ashes, making them loose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, scorpions, spiders and palmers alive, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine seede being grownd, which they call *Ololuchqui*, whereof the Indians make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this hearbe is to deprive man of sence. They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hairie wormes, whose haire only is venomous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of rosine, putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meate. And therefore they called it a divine meate. By means of this oyntment they became witches, and did see and speake with the Divell. The priestes beeing slubbered with this oyntment, lost all feare, putting on a spirit of cruelty. By reason whereof they did very boldely kill men in their sacrifices, going all alone in the night to the mountaines, and into obscure caves, contemning all wilde beasts, and holding it for certayne and approved, that both lions, tigres, serpents, and other furious beasts which breede in the mountaines, and forrests, fledde from them, by the vertue of this *Petum* of their god.

And in trueth though this *Petum* had no power to make them flie, yet was the Divelles picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This *Petum* did also serve to cure the sicke, and for children; and therfore

all

all called it the Divine Physicke: and so they came from all partes to the superiors and priests, as to their saviors, that they might apply this divine physicke, wherewith they anoynted those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt heereby a notable ease, which might be, for that Tobacco and *Ololuchqui* have this propertie of themselves, to benumme the flesh, being applied in maner of an emplaister, which must be by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benumme the paine, they helde it for an effect of health, and a divine virtue. And therefore ranne they to these priests as to holy men, who kept the blind and ignorant in this error, perswading them what they pleased, and making them runne after their inventions and divellish ceremonies, their authority being such, as their wordes were sufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their faith. And thus made they a thousand superstitions among the vulgar people, in their maner of offering incense, in cutting their haire, tying small flowers about their necks, and strings with small bones of snakes, commaunding them to bathe at a certaine time, and that they should watch all night at the harth, lest the fire should die, that they should eate no other bread but that which had bin offered to their gods, that they should vpon any occasion repaire vnto their witches, who with certaine graines tolde fortunes, and divined, looking into keelers and pailes full of water. The sorcerers and ministers of the divell vsed much to besmere themselves. There were an infinite number of these witches, divines, enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaines yet at this day of this infection, although they be secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, divelish ceremonies & superstitions, but their

abuſes and wickednes are diſcovered more at large and particularly in the confeſſions made by the Prelates of *Peru*.

There is a kinde of ſorcerers amongſt the Indians allowed by the Kings *Inguas*, which are as it were ſooth-ſaiers, they take vpon them what forme and figure they pleaſe, flying farre through the aire in a ſhort time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Divell, who anſwereth them in certaine ſtones or other things which they reverence much. They ſerve as coniurers, to tell what hath paſſed in the fartheſt partes, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced ſince the Spaniardes arrived there, that in the diſtance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the mutinies, battailes, rebellions, and deaths, both of tyrants, and of thoſe of the Kings partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the ſame day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impoſſible by the courſe of nature. To worke this divination, they ſhut themſelves into a houſe, & became drunk vntil they loſt their ſences, a day after they anſwered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they vſe certaine vnctions The Indians ſay, that the old women do commonly vſe this office of witch-craft, & ſpecially thoſe of one Province, which they call *Coaillo*, and of another towne called *Manchey*, and of the Province of *Guarochiri*. They likewiſe ſhew what is become of things ſtolne and loſt. There are of theſe kindes of Sorcerers in all partes, to whom commonly doe come the *Anacondas*, and *Cyva*, which ſerve the Spaniardes, and when they have loſt any thing of their maſters, or when they deſire to know the ſucceſſe of things paſt or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniardes citties for their private

vate affaires, or for the publike, they demaund if their voyage shall be prosperous, if they shall be sicke, if they shall die, or returne safe; if they shall obtaine that which they pretend: and the witches or coniurers answer, yea, or no, having first spoken with the Divell, in an obscure place: so as these *Anaconas* do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these coniurers speake, neither do they vnderstand what they say. They make a thousand ceremonies and sacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Divell and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly vse an hearbe called *Villea*, the iuyce whereof they mingle with their *Chica*, or take it in some other sort, whereby we may see how miserable they are, that have for their masters, the ministers of him whose office is to deceive. It is manifest that nothing doth so much let the Indians from receiving the faith of the holy Gospel, and to persever therein, as the conferrence with these witches, whereof there have bin, and are still, great numbers, although by the grace of the Lord, and diligence of the Prelates and Priestes, they decrease, and are not so hurtefull. Some of them have beene converted and preached publikely, discovering and blaming themselves, their errors and deceites, and manifesting their devises and lies, whereof wee have seene great effects: as also we vnderstand by letters from *Iappon*, that the like hath arrived in those parts: all to the glory and honour of our Lord God.

Of other Ceremonies and Customes of the Indians, *which are like vnto ours.* CHAP. 27.

THe Indians had an infinite number of other ceremonies and customes, which resembled to the antient

ancient law of *Moſes*, and ſome to thoſe which the Moores vſe, and ſome approached neere to the law of the Goſpel, as their bathes or *Opacuna*, as they call them: they did waſh themſelves in water, to cleanſe them from their ſins. The *Mexicaines* had alſo amongſt them a kinde of baptiſme, the which they did with ceremony, cutting the eares and members of yong children new borne, counterfaiting in ſome ſort the circumciſion of the Iewes. This ceremony was done principally to the ſonnes of Kings and Noblemen: preſently vpon their birth the prieſtes did waſh them, and did put a little ſword in the right hand, and in the left a target. And to the children of the vulgar ſort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their daughters inſtruments to ſpinne, knit, and labour. This ceremony continued foure daies, being made before ſome idoll. They contracted mariage after their maner, whereof the Licentiate *Pollo* hath written a whole Treatiſe, and I will ſpeake ſomewhat thereon heereafter. In other things their cuſtomes and ceremonies have ſome ſhew of reaſon. The *Mexicaines* were married by the handes of their prieſtes in this ſort. The Bridegroome and the Bride ſtoode together before the prieſt, who tooke them by the hands asking them if they would marrie, then having vnderſtoode their willes, hee tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head covered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tied together on a knot, and ſo led them thus tied to the Bridegroomes houſe, where there was a harth kindled, and then he cauſed the wife to go ſeven times about the harth, and ſo the married couple ſate downe together, and thus was the mariage contracted. The *Mexicaines* were very iealous of the integritie of their wives:

wives: so as if they found they were not as they ought to be, (the which they knew eyther by signes or dishoneſt wordes,) they presently gave notice thereof to their fathers and kinsfolkes of their wives, to their great shame and dishonor, for that they had not kept good guarde over them. But they did much honour and respect such as lived chastely, making them great banquttes, and giving great presentes both to her and to her kinsfolkes. For this occasion they made great offerings to their gods, and a solemne banket in the house of the wife, and another in the husbands. When they went to house they made an inventory of all the man and wife brought together, of provisions for the house, of land, of iewells and ornaments, which inventories every father kept, for if it chanced they made any devorce, (as it was common amongeſt them when they agree not,) they divided their goods according to the portion that every one brought, every one having libertie in such a case, to marry whome they pleased: and they gave the daughters to the wife, and the sonnes to the husband. It was defended vpon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they obserued very strictly. And although it seeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abhomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to have vsually one of these three things, either cruelty, filthines, or slouth: for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtefull, as to kill men and to spill blood, are filthy and beastly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idolls, and also to pisse in the honour of them, carrying them vpon their shoulders, to annoint and besmeere themselves filthily, and to do a thousand sortes of villanies,

lanies, which were at the leaſt, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children, then of men. The cauſe thereof is the very condition of this wicked ſpirit, whoſe intention is alwaies to do ill, provoking men ſtill to murthers and filthines, or at the leaſt to vanities and fruiteleſſe actions, the which every man may well know, if he duly conſider the behaviour and actions of the Divell, towardes thoſe he ſets to deceive. For in all his illuſions we finde a mixture of theſe three, or at leaſt of one of them. The Indians themſelves (ſince they came to the knowledge of our faith,) laugh and mocke at theſe fooleries and toyes, in the which their gods held them buſied, whom they ſerved more for feare, leaſt they ſhould hurte them, in not obeying them in all things, then for any love they bare them. Although ſome, yea, very many lived, abuſed and deceived, with the vaine hope of temporall goods, for of the eternall they had no knowledge. And whereas the temporall power was greateſt, there ſuperſtition hath moſt increaſed, as we ſee in the Realmes of *Mexico* and *Cuſco*, where it is incredible to ſee the number of idolls they had: for within the citty of *Mexico* there were above three hundred *Mango Ingua Yupangui*, amongſt the Kings of *Cuſco*, was hee that moſt augmented the ſervice of their idolls, inventing a thouſand kindes of ſacrifices, feaſts, and ceremonies. The like did King *Iſcoalt* in *Mexico*, who was the fourth king. There was alſo a great number of ſuperſtitions and ſacrifices in other Nations of the *Indians*, as in the Province of *Guatimala*, at the Ilands in the new Kingdome, in the Province of *Chille*, and others that were like Commonwealthes and Comminalties. But it was nothing in reſpect of *Mexico* and *Cuſco*, where Sathan was as in *Rome*,

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or in his *Ierusalem*, vntill he was cast out against his will, and the holy Crosse planted in his place, and the Kingdome of Christ our God occupied, the which the tyrant did vsurpe.

Of some Feast celebrated by them of Cusco, *and how the Divell would imitate the mysterie of the holy Trinitie.* Chap. 28.

TO conclude that which concernes Religion, there restes something to speake of the feasts and solemnities which the Indians did celebrate, the which (for that they are divers and many) cannot be all specified. The *Ingnas* Lords of *Peru*, had two kindes of feasts, some were ordinarie, which fell out in certaine moneths, of the yeere: and others extraordinary, which were for certaine causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great neede of water or drought, or other like things. For the ordinary feasts, we must vnderstand, that every moneth of the yeare they made feasts, and divers sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe, yet in colour, and in forme, they are very divers. In the first moneth which they call *Rayme*, which is the moneth of December, they made their first feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it *Capacrayme*, which is to say, a rich and principall feast. In this feast they offered a great number of sheepe and lambs in sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweete wood, then they caused gold and silver to be brought vpon certaine sheepe, setting vppon them three Images of the Sun, and three of the thunder,

thunder, the father, the sonne, and the brother. In these feasts they dedicated the *Inguas* children, putting the *Guaras* or ensignes vpon them, and they pierced their eares: then some olde man did whip them with slings, and annoynted their faces with blood, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the *Ingua*. No stranger might remaine in *Cusco* during this moneth, and this feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gave vnto them peeces of the paste of mays with the blood of the sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confederation with the *Ingua*, as hath bin said before. | It is strange that the Divell after his manner hath brought a trinitie into idolatry, for the three images of the Sunne called *Apomti*, *Churunti*, and *Intiquaoqui* which signifieth father and lord Sunne, the sonne Sunne, and the brother Sunne. In the like maner they named the three Images of *Chuquilla*, which is the God that rules in the region of the aire, where it thunders, raines and snows. I remember, that being in *Cuquisaca*, an honourable priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my handes, where it was prooved that there was a certaine *Guaca* or Oratory, whereas the Indians did worship an idoll called *Tangatanga*, which they saide was one in three, and three in one. And as this Priest stood amazed thereat, I saide that the Divell by his infernall and obstinate pride (whereby he alwayes pretendes to make himselfe God,) did steale all that he could from the trueth, to imploy it in his lyings and deceits. | Comming then to the feast of the second moneth, which they called *Camey*, besides the sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the river, following five or sixe leagues after, praying it to carry them into the sea, for that the *Virochoca* should there receive this present.

Indian Trinity

present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omitte for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called *Hatuncuzqui Aymorey*, which answereth to Maie, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this moone and moneth, which is when they bring Maie from the fieldes into the house, they made a feast, which is yet very vsuall among the Indians, and they doe call it *Aymorey*.

This feast is made comming from the *Chacra* or farme vnto the house, saying certaine songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call *Mamacora*. They take a certaine portion of the most fruitefull of the Mays that growes in their farmes, the which they put in a certaine grenier which they doe call *Pirua*, with certaine ceremonies, watching three nightes: they put this Mays in the richest garments they have, and beeing thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this *Pirua*, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the mother of the mays of their inheritances, and that by this means the mays augments & is preserved. In this moneth they make a particular sacrifice, and the witches demaund of this *Pirua*, if it hath strength sufficient to continue vntill the next yeare: and if it answers no, then they carry this Mays to the farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to every mans power; then make they another *Pirua*, with the same ceremonies, saying, that they renue it, to the end the seede of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leave it vntill the next yeare. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongest the Indians to

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have these *Piruas*, & to make the feast of *Aymorey*. The seaventh moneth answereth to Iune, and is called *Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi*, in it they made the feast that is called *Intiraymi*, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called *Guanacos*, and saide it was the feast of the Sunne. In this moneth they made many Images of *Quinua* wood carved, all attired with rich garmentes, and they made their dancings which they do call *Cayo*. At this feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the Indians came painted, and their noblemen had small plates of golde vpon their beards, and all did sing; wee must vnderstand that this feast falleth almost at the same time, whenas the Christians observe the solempnitie of the holy Sacrament, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dauncing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the Indians, which celebrated a feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many superstitions in celebrating this ancient feast of *Intiraymi*. The eight month is called *Chahua Huarqui*, in the which they did burne a hundred sheepe more, all grey, of the colour of *Viscacha*, according to the former order, which month doth answer to our Iuly. The ninth moneth was called *Yapaguis*, in the which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a chesnut colour; and they do likewise kill and burne a thousand *Cuyes*, to the end the frost, the ayre, the water, nor the sunne should not hurt their farmes: and this moneth doth answer vnto August. The tenth moneth was called *Coyarami*, in the which they burnt a hundred white sheepe that had fleeces. In this month which answereth to September, they made the feast called *Situa* in this manner: They assembled together the first day of the moone before the rising thereof: and

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in seeing it they cryed aloude, carrying torches in their handes, and saying, Let all harme goe away, striking one an other with their torches. They that did this, were called *Panconcos:* which being doone, they went to the common bath, to the rivers and fountaines, and every one to his own bath, setting themselves to drink foure dayes together. In this moneth the *Mamacomas* of the sunne made a great number of small loaves with the blood of the sacrifices, and gave a peece to every stranger; yea they sent to every *Guaca* throughout the realme, and to many *Curacas*, in signe of confederation and loyaltie to the Sunne and the *Ingua*, as hath bin said.

The bathes drunkennesse and some relickes of this feast *Situa*, remaine even vnto this day, in some places, with the ceremonies a little different, but yet very secretly, for that these chiefe and principall feasts have ceased. The eleventh moneth *Homaraymi Punchaiquis*, wherein they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more. And if they wanted water, to procure raine, they set a black sheepe tied in the middest of a plaine, powring much *Chica* about it, and giving it nothing to eate, vntill it rained, which is practised at this day in many places, in the time of our October. The twelfth and last month was called *Aymara*, wherein they did likewise sacrifice a hundred sheepe, and made the feast called *Raymicantara Rayquis*. In this moneth which aunswered to out November, they prepared what was necessary for the children that should be made novices, the moneth following, the children with the old men made a certaine shew, with rounds and turnings: and this feast was called *Ituraymi*, which commonly they make when it raines too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

Among the extraordinary feasts which were very many, the most famous was that which they called *Ytu*. This feast *Ytu* hath no prefixed time nor season, but in time of necessitie. To prepare themselves thereunto, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which they did neyther company with their wives, nor eate anie meate with salt or garlicke, nor drinke any *Chica*. All did assemble together in one place, where no straunger was admitted, nor any beast: they had garments and ornaments, which served onely for this feast. They marched very quietly in procession, their heades covered with their vailes, sounding of drummes, without speaking one to another. This continued a day and a night; then the day following they daunced and made good cheere for twoo dayes and two nights together, saying, that their prayer was accepted. And although that this feast is not vsed at this day, with all this antient ceremony, yet commonly they make another which is verie like, which they call *Ayma*, with garmentes that serve onely to that end, and they make this kind of procession with their Drummes, having fasted before, then after they make good cheere, which they vsually doe in their vrgent necessities. And although the Indians forbeare to sacrifice beasts, or other things publikely, which cannot be hidden from the Spaniardes, yet doe they still vse many ceremonies that have their beginnings from these feasts and auntient superstitions: for at this day they do covertly make this feast of *Ytu*, at the dances of the feast of the Sacrament, in making the daunces of *Lyamallama*, and of *Guacon*, and of others, according to their auntient ceremonies, wherevnto we ought to take good regarde. They have made more large Discourses of that which concerneth this matter,

for

for the necessary observation of the abuses and superstitions the Indians had in the time of their gentility, to the end the Priestes and Curates may the better take heede. Let this suffice now to have treated of the exercise wherewith the divell held those superstitious nations occupied, to the end, that against his will wee may see the difference there is betwixt light and darknes, betwixt the trueth of Christ and the lies of the Gentiles, although the ennemy of God and man hath laboured with all his devises to counterfet those things which are of God.

Of the feast of Iubilee which the Mexicaines celebrated. Chap. 29.

THe Mexicaines have beene no lesse curious in their feasts and solemnities, which were of small charge, but of great effusion of mans blood. Wee have before spoken of the principall feast of *Vitziliputzli*, after the which the feast of *Tezcalipuca* was most solempnized. This feast fell in Maie, and in their Kalender they called it *Toxcolt*: it fell every foure yeeres with the feast of Penaunce, where there was given full indulgence and remission of sinnes. In this day they did sacrifice a captive which resembled the idoll *Tezcalipuca*, it was the nineteenth day of Maie: vpon the even of this feast, the Noblemen came to the Temple, bringing a new garment like vnto that of the idoll, the which the Priest put vpon him, having first taken off his other garments, which they kept with as much, or more reverence than we doe our ornaments. There were in the coffers of the idoll many ornaments, iewelles, earerings, and other riches, as bracelets and pretious feathers which served

to no other vſe, but to be there, and was worſhipped as their god it ſelfe. Beſides the garment wherewith they worſhipped the idoll that day, they put vpon him certaine enſignes of feathers, with fannes, ſhadowes and other things, being thus attired and furniſhed, they drew the curtaine or vaile from before the doore, to the end he might be ſeene of all men: then came forth one of the chiefe of the temple, attired like to the idoll, carrying flowers in his hand, and a flute of earth, having a very ſharpe ſound, and turning towards the eaſt, he ſounded it, and then looking to the weſt, north and ſouth he did the like. And after he had thus ſounded towards the foure parts of the world (ſhewing that both they that were preſent and abſent did heare him) hee put his finger into the aire, and then gathered vp earth, which he put in his mouth, and did eate it in ſigne of adoration. The like did all they that were preſent, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, invocating the darkneſſe of the night, and the windes, intreating them not to leave them, nor to forget them, or elſe to take away their lives, and free them from the labors they indured therein. Theeves, adulterers, and murtherers, and all others offendors had great feare and heavineſſe, whileſt this flute ſounded; ſo as ſome could not diſſemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their god, but to have their offences concealed, powring foorth many teares, with great repentaunce and ſorrow, offering great ſtore of incenſe to appeaſe their gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the olde ſouldiers, that followed the Arte of Warre, hearing this flute, demaunded with great devotion of God the Creator, of the Lorde for whome wee live, of the ſunne, and of other their gods,

that

that they would give them victorie against their ennemies, and strength to take many captives, therewith to honour their sacrifices. This ceremonie was doone ten dayes before the feast: During which tenne dayes the Priest did sound this flute, to the end that all might do this worship in eating of earth, and demaund of their idol what they pleased: they every day made their praiers, with their eyes lift vp to heaven, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their sinnes and offences. Although this contrition was onelie for feare of the corporal punishment that was given them, and not for any feare of the eternall, for they certainely beleeved there was no such severe punishment in the other life.

And therefore they offered themselves voluntarily to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an assured rest. The first day of the feast of this idoll *Tezcalipuca* being come, all they of the Citty assembled together in a court, to celebrate likewise the feast of the Kalender, whereof wee have already spoken, which was called *Toxcoalth*, which signifies a drie thing: which feast was not made to any other end, but to demaund raine, in the same manner that we solemnise the Rogations: and this feast was alwayes in Maie, which is the time that they have most neede of raine in those countries. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of Maie, ending the nineteenth. The last day of the feast the Priestes drew foorth a litter well furnished with curtins and pendants of diverse fashions. This litter had so many armes to holde by as there were ministers to carry it. All which came forth besmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in tresses with white strings, and attyred in the livery of the idoll. Vpon this litter they set the

perſonage of the idoll, appoynted for this feaſt, which they called the reſemblance of their God *Tezcalipuca*, and taking it vpon their ſhoulders, they broght it openly to the foote of the ſtaires: then came forth the yong men and maidens of the Temple, carrying a great cord wreathed of chaines of roaſted mays, with the which they invironed the Litter, putting a chaine of the ſame about the idolles necke, and a garland vppon his head. They called the cord *Toxcalt*, ſignifying the drought and barrenneſſe of the time. The yoong men came wrapped in redde curtines, with garlands and chains of roaſted mays. The maides were clothed in new garments, wearing chaines about their neckes of roaſted mays; and vpon their heads myters made of rods covered with this mays, they had their feete covered with feathers, and their armes and cheekes painted. They brought much of this roaſted mays, and the chiefe men put it vpon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowers in their handes. The idoll beeing placed in his litter, they ſtrewd round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguey, the leaves whereof are large and pricking.

This litter being ſet vpon the religious mens ſhoulders, they carryed it in proceſſion within the circuite of the Court, twoo Prieſts marching before with cenſors, giving often incenſe to the idoll; and every time they gave incenſe, they lifted vp their armes as high as they could to the idoll, and to the Sunne, ſaying, that they lifted vp their praiers to heaven, even as the ſmoke aſcended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the idoll went, every one carrying in his hand new cords of the threed of manguey, a fadome long, with a knotte at the end, and

with

with them they whipped themselves vppon the shoulders; even as they doe heere vppon holy Thursday. All the walles of the Court and battlements were full of boughs and flowers, so fresh and pleasaunt, as it did give a great contentment. This processiõ being ended, they brought the idoll to his vsual place of abode, then came a great multitude of people with flowres, dressed in diverse sortes, wherewith they filled the temple and all the court, so as it seemed the ornament of an Oratory. All this was putte in order by the priests, the yoong men administring these things vnto them from without. The chappell or chamber where the idoll remayned was all this day open without any vaile.

the vail opened

This done, every one came and offered curtines, and pendants of *Sandally*, precious stones, iewells, insence, sweete wood, grapes, or eares of Mays, quailes: and finally, all they were accustomed to offer in such solemnities. Whenas they offered quailes, (which was the poore mans offering,) they vsed this ceremonie, they delivered them to the priestes, who taking them, pulled off their heads, and cast them at the foote of the Altare, where they lost their bloud, and so they did of all other things which were offered. Every one did offer meate and fruite according to their power, the which was laid at the foote of the altar, and the Ministers gathered them vp, and carried them to their chambers. This solemne offering done, the people went to dinner, every one to his village or house, leaving the feast suspended vntill after dinner. In the meane time, the yong men and maidens of the temple, with their ornaments, were busied to serve the idoll, with all that was appointed for him to eate: which meate was prepared by other women, who had made

a vow that day to serve the idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselves to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would have done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such varietie of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these virgins went out of the Temple in procession, every one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates; before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habite, he was clothed in a white surples downe to the calves of his legges, vpon a dublet without sleeves of red leather, like to a iacket, hee carried wings insteede of sleeves, from the which hung broade ribbands, at the which did hang a small *Calibasse* or pumpion, which was covered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heavily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reverence. Then going on the one side, the virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reverence. This service presented, the old man returned as before, leading the virgins into their convent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered vp this meate, the which they carried to the chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted five daies, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wives, not once going out of the Temple in these five daies. During the which, they did whippe themselves rigorously with

cordes

cordes, they did eate of this divine meate, (for so they called it,) what they could, neither was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people having dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the ende of the feast, whither they brought a captive, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the idoll, being attyred, decked, and honoured, as the idoll it selfe, and doing all reverence vnto him, they delivered him into the handes of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselves, taking him by the feete and handes. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his hart, then did he lift vp his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Having thus sacrificed him that represented the idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong men and virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not vsually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet every fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Iubile and full pardons. After Sun set, every one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the virgins went al to their convent, they took great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, covered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the idoll, mounting vp to the court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and having set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came,

came, the ſteward going ſtill before. Preſently came forth all the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their handes, who beganne to runne as faſt as they could to the toppe of the ſtaires of the Temple, who ſhould come firſt to the diſhes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Prieſts obſerved him that came firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth, without regarding the reſt. This collation was likewiſe all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arrived firſt were placed in the midſt of the Antients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, praiſing them, and giving them ornaments; and from thence forth they were reſpected and reverenced as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feaſt celebrated with much ioy and noiſe, they diſmiſſed all the yong men and maides which had ſerved the idoll; by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the ſmall children of the colledges and ſchooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of ruſhes and hearbes in their hands, which they caſt at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the ſervice of the idoll: they had libertie then to diſpoſe of themſelves at their pleaſure, and thus the feaſt ended.

Of the Feaſt of Marchants, which thoſe of Cholutecas *did celebrate.* CHAP. 30.

ALthough I have ſpoken ſufficiently of the ſervice the *Mexicaines* did vnto their gods, yet will I ſpeak ſomething of the feaſt they called *Quetzacoaalt*, which was the god of riches, the which was ſolemniſed in this maner. Fortie daies before the Marchants bought a ſlave,

slave well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sickenes or of hurte, whome they did attyre with the ornaments of the idoll, that he might represent it fortie daies. Before his clothing they did clense him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attyred him like the idoll. During these forty daies, hee was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him, (as hath beene said,) lest he should flie, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison, setting him vpon an eminent place, where they served him, giving him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegaies in his hands. Hee had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Cittie, he went dancing and singing through all the streetes, that hee might bee knowne for the resemblance of their god, and when hee beganne to sing, the women and little children came forth of their houses to salute him, and to offer vnto him as to their god. Two old men of the Antients of the Temple, came vnto him nine daies before the feast, and humbling themselves before him, they said with a low and submisse voyce, Sir, you must vnderstand that nine daies hence the exercise of dancing and singing doth end, and thou must then die; and then he must answer, in a good houre. They call this ceremony, *Neyolo Maxiltlezt li*, which is to say, the advertisement: and when they did thus advertise him, they tooke very carefull heede whether hee were sad, or if he danced as ioyfully as he was accustomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they desired, they made a fooliſh superstition in this maner. They presently

sently tooke the sacrificing rasors, the which they washed and clensed from the blood of men, which remained of the former sacrifices. Of this washing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of *Cacao*, giving it him to drinke; they said that this would make him forget what had beene said vnto him, and would make him in a maner incensible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They said moreover, that he would offer himself cheerefully to death, being inchanted with this drinke. The cause why they sought to take from him this heavinesse, was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of some great harme. The day of the feast being come, after they had done him much honor, sung, and given him incense, the sacrificers tooke him about mid-night and did sacrifice him, as hath beene said, offering his heart vnto the Moone, the which they did afterwardes cast against the idoll, letting the bodie fall to the bottome of the staires of the Temple, where such as had offered him tooke him vp, which were the Marchants, whose feast it was. Then having carried him into the chiefest mans house amongst them, the body was drest with divers sawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day,) the banquet and dinner of the feast, having first bid the idoll good morrow, with a small dance, which they made whilst the day did breake, and that they prepared the sacrifice. Then did all the Marchants assemble at this banket, especially those which made it a trafficke to buy and sell slaves, who were bound every yeare to offer one, for the resemblance of their god. This idoll was one of the most honoured in all the land: and therefore the Temple where hee was, was of great authoritie. There were threescore staires to ascend vp vnto it, and

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on the toppe was a court of an indifferent largeneſſe, very finely dreſt and plaſtered, in the midſt whereof, was a great round thing like vnto an Oven, having the entrie low and narrow: ſo as they muſt ſtoope very low that ſhould enter into it. This Temple had chambers and chappells as the reſt, where there were convents of Prieſts, yong men, maides, and children, as hath beene ſaid: and there was one Prieſt alone reſident continually, the which they changed weekely: For although there were in every one of theſe temples, three or foure Curates or Ancients, yet did every one ſerve his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke, (after he had inſtructed the children,) was to ſtrike vp a drumme every day at the Sunne ſetting, to the ſame end that we are accuſtomed to ring to evenſong. This drumme was ſuch as they might heare the houſe ſound thereof throughout all the partes of the Cittie, then every man ſhut vp his merchandiſe, and retired vnto his houſe, and there was ſo great a ſilence, as there ſeemed to be no living creature in the Towne. In the morning whenas the day beganne to breake, they beganne to ſound the drumme, which was a ſigne of the day beginning, ſo as travellers and ſtrangers attended this ſignall to beginne their iournies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the cittie.

There was in this temple a court of a reaſonable greatnes, in the which they made great dances, & paſtimes, with games or comedies the day of the idolls feaſt; for which purpoſe there was in the middeſt of this court a theatre of thirty foote ſquare very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the arte and invention that mought be, beeing invironed round with Arches of divers flowers and feathers,

thers, and in some places there were tied many small birds, connies, and other tame beasts. After dinner all the people assembled in this place, and the players presented themselves, and played comedies, some counterfeit the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, some the blinde, and without handes, which came to seeke for cure of the idoll: the deafe answered confusedly, the rheumatike did cough, the lame halted, telling their miseries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others came foorth in the forme of little beasts, some were attired like snailes, others like toades, and some like lizardes: then meeting together, they tolde their offices, and every one retyring to his place, they sounded on small flutes, which was pleasant to heare. They likewise counterfeited butterflies and small birdes of diverse colours, and the children of the Temple represented these formes, then they went into a little forrest planted there for the nonce, where the Priestes of the Temple drew them foorth with instruments of musicke. In the meane time they vsed many pleasant speeches, some in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the assistants were pleasantly intertained. This doone, they made a maske or mummerie with all these personages, and so the feast ended: the which were vsually doone in their principall feasts.

What profit may be drawne out of this discourse of the Indians superstitions. CHAP 31.

THis may suffice to vnderstand the care and paine the Indians tooke to serve and honour their Idolls, or rather the divell: for it were an infinite matter, and of small profit, to report every thing that hath passed,

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for thar it may ſeeme to ſome needleſſe to have ſpoken thus much: and that it is a loſſe of time, as in reading the fables that are fained by the Romaines of Knighthoode. But if ſuch as holde this opinion will looke wel into it, they ſhall finde great difference betwixt the one and the other: and that it may be profitable for many conſiderations, to have the knowledge of the cuſtoms and ceremonies the Indians vſed: firſt this knowledge is not only profitable, but alſo neceſſary in thoſe countries where theſe ſuperſtitions have beene practiſed, to the end that Chriſtians, and the maiſters of the Law of Chriſt, may know the errours and ſuperſtitions of the Antients, and obſerve if the Indians vſe them not at this day, either ſecretly or openly. For this cauſe many learned and worthy men have written large Diſcourſes, of what they have found: yea the Provinciall counſells have commaunded them to write and print them, as they have doone in *Lima*, where hath beene made a more ample Diſcourſe than this. And therefore it importeth for the good of the Indians, that the Spaniardes being in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, ſhould have the knowledge of all theſe things. This Diſcourſe may likewiſe ſerve the Spaniards there, and all others wherſoever, to give infinite thankes to God our Lord, who hath imparted ſo great a benefite vnto vs, giving them his holy Lawe, which is moſt iuſt, pure, and altogether profitable. The which we may well know, comparing it with the lawes of Sathan, where ſo many wretched people have lived ſo miſerably. It may likewiſe ſerve to diſcover the pride, envy, deceipts, and ambuſhes of the Divell, which he practiſeth againſt thoſe he holdes captives, ſeeeing on the one ſide hee ſeekes to imitate God, and make compariſon with him and his

holy

holy Lawe, and on the other side : hee dooth mingle with his actions so many vanities, filthinesse and cruelties, as hee that hath no other practise but to sophisticate and corrupt all that is good. Finally, hee that shall see the darkenes and blindenes wherein so many Provinces and Kingdoms have lived so long time, yea and wherein many Nations, and a great part of the world live yet, deceived with the like trumperies, he can not (if he have a Christians heart) but give thankes to the high God, for such as hee hath called out of so great darkenes, to the admirable light of his Gospel: beseeching the vnspeakeable charitie of the Creator to preserve and increase them in his knowledge and obedience, and likewise be grieved for those that follow still the way of perdition. And that in the end hee beseech the Father of Pitty, to open vnto them the treasures and riches of Iesus Christ, who with the Father and Holy-ghost raignes in all Ages; *Amen.*

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THE

THE SIXT BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies.

That they erre in their opinion, which holde the Indians to want iudgement. CHAP. I.

HAving treated before of the religion the Indians vſed, I pretend to diſcourſe in this Booke of their cuſtoms, policy, and government, for two conſiderations: the one is to confute that falſe opinion many doe commonly holde of them, that they are a groſe and brutiſh people; or that they have ſo little vnderſtanding, as they ſcarce deſerve the name of anie: So as many exceſſes and outrages are committed vpon them, vſing them like bruite-beaſts, and reputing them vnworthy of any reſpect; which is ſo common and ſo dangerous an errour (as they know well who with any

zeale and consideration have travelled amongst them, and that have seene and obserud their secrets and counsells;) And moreover, for the small regard many make of these Indians, who presume to knowe much, and yet are commonly the most ignorant and presumptuous. I finde no better meanes to confound this pernicious opinion, then in relating their order and maner, whenas they lived vnder their owne lawes, in which (although they had many barbarous things, and without ground, yet had they many others worthy of great admiration, whereby wee may vnderstand, that they were by nature, capable to receive any good instructions: and besides, they did in some things, passe many of our common-weales. It is no matter of marvell if there were so great and grose faults amongst them, seeing there hath been likewise amongst the most famous Law-givers and Philosophers (yea without exception, *Lycurgus* and *Plato*) and amongest the wisest commonwealths, as the Romanes and Athenians, where wee may finde things so full of ignorance, and so worthy of laughter, as in trueth if the commonweales of the *Mexicaines*, or of the *Inguas*, hadde beene knowne in those times of the Romans and the Greekes, their lawes and governements had been much esteemed by them: But we at this day little regarding this, enter by the sword, without hearing or vnderstanding; perswading our selves that the Indians affaires deserve no other respect, but as of venison that is taken in the forrest, and broght for our vse and delight.

The most grave and diligent, which have searched and attained to the knowledge of their secrets, customs and antient governement, holde another opinion, and admire the order and discourse that hath been betwixt them.

them. Of which number is *Polo Ondeguardo,* whome I vsually followe in the discourse of matters of *Peru,* and for these of *Mexico Iohn de Toüar*, who had a Prebend in the Church of *Mexico*, and is now of our company of Iesuites, who by the commaundement of the viceroy *Don Martin Enriques*, have made a diligent and a large collection of the Historics of that nation, and many other grave and notable personages, who both by word and writing have sufficiently informed me of all those things I shall here set downe. The other end, and the good which may followe by the knowledge of the lawes customes and government of the Indians, is, that wee may helpe and governe them with the same lawes and customes, for that they ought to be ruled according to their owne lawes and priviledges, so farre foorth as they doe not contradict the Lawe of Christ, and his holy Church, which ought to be maintained and kept as their fundamentall lawes. For the ignorance of laws and customes hath bred many errours of great importaunce, for that the Governours and Iudges, knowe not well how to give sentence, nor rule their subiects. And besides, the wrong which is doone vnto them, against reason, it is preiudiciall and hurtefull vnto our selves; for thereby they take occasion to abhorre vs, as men both in good and in evill alwayes contrary vnto them.

Of the supputation of times, and the Kalender the Mexicaines vsed. Chap. 2.

And to beginne then by the division and supputation of times which the Indians made, wherein truely wee may well perceive the great signes of their

vivacitie and good vnderſtanding. I will firſt ſhew in what ſorte the Mexicaines counted and divided their yeere, their moneths, their kalender, their computations, their worldes and ages. They divided the yeare into eighteene moneths, to which they gave twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and three ſcore days are accompliſhed, not comprehending in any of theſe moneths the five dayes that remaine, & make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them aparte, and called them the dayes of nothing: during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themſelves only in viſiting one another, and ſo ſpent the time: the ſacrificers of the Temple did likewiſe ceaſe their ſacrifices. Theſe five dayes being paſt, they beganne the computation of the yeare, whereof the firſt moneth and the beginning was in March, when the leaves beganne to growe greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February; for the firſt day of their yeere was, as it were, the ſixe and twentie day of February, as appeareth by their kalender, within the which ours is likewiſe comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Arte, which was made by the antient Indians that knew the firſt Spaniardes. I have ſeene this Kalender, and have it yet in my cuſtody, which well deſerveth the ſight, to vnderſtand the diſcourſe and induſtry the Mexicaine Indians had. Every one of theſe eighteene monethes had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall feaſt that was made in that moneth, or from the diverſitie of tymes, which the yeere cauſed in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine dayes marked and diſtinguiſhed for their feaſts. And they accompted their weekes by thir-

thirteene dayes, marking the dayes with a *Zero* or cipher, which they multiplied vnto thirteene, and then beganne to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheeles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to every yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a house, an other of a conny, the third of a reede, and the fourth of a flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying of so many houses, of so many flints of such a wheele, happened such a thing. For we must vnderstand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, every weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fiftie twoo yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sunne, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele; and they made their course, even as the circumference was divided into foure equall partes, every one with his line, having a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colors were, greene, blew, red, and yellow: every portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a house, a conny, a reed, or a flint, noting by every signe a yeare, and vppon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare.

And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the Spaniards entered *Mexico*, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habite of the first Spaniard, whome *Fernand Cortes* sent, at the end of the two & fifty years, which finished the wheele. They vsed a pleasant ceremony, which was, the last night they didde breake all their vesselles and stuffe, and put out their fire, and all

the lights, saying, that the worlde should end at the finishing of one of these wheeles, and it might be at that time: for (said they) seeing the worlde must then end, what neede is there to provide meate to eate, and therfore they had no further neede of vessel nor fire. Vpon this conceit they passed the night in great feare, saying it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched very carefully for the day; but when they saw the day beginne to breake, they presently beat manie drummes, and sounded cornets, flutes, and other instruments of ioy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then beganne an other wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they took new fire, and bought new vesselles to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, having first made a solemne sacrifice, and given thanks for the comming of the day, and prolongation of an other age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

How the Kings Inguas accounted the yeares and moneths. CHAP. 3.

ALthough this supputation of times practised amongest the Mexicaines, bee ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, having not grounded their computation according vnto the course of the moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of *Peru* have far surpassed them: for they divided their yeare into as many dayes, perfectly accomplished as we do heere, and into twelve moneths

moneths or moones, in the which they imployed and consumed the eleven daies that remaind of the moone as *Polo* writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they vsed this industry; vppon the mountaines which are about the citty of *Cusco* (where the Kings *Inguas* held their court, beeing the greatest sanctuary of those realmes, and as we should say an other *Rome*) there were twelve pillars set in order, and in such distaunce the one from the other, as every month one of these pillers did note the rising and setting of the sunne. They called them *Succanga*, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the feasts, and the seasons fitte to sowe and reape, and to do other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these pillars of the sunne. Every month had his proper name, and pecular feasts. They beganne the yeare by Ianuary as wee doe. But since, a king *Ingua* called *Pachacuto*, which signifies a reformer of the Temple, beganne their yeare by December, by reason (as I coniecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last poynt of Capricorne, which is the tropike neerest vnto them. I know not whether the one or the other have obserued any Bisexte, although some holde the contrary. The weekes which the Mexicaines did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seaven dayes: the *Inguas* likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the account of the weeke is not grounded vpon the course of the sunne, as that of the yeare, nor of the moone, as that of the month; but among the Hebrewes it is grounded vpon the creation of the world, as *Moyses* reporteth; and amongest the Greekes and Latins vpon the number of the seven planets, of whose names the dayes of the weeke have taken their denomination; yet was it much for those

Indians, being men without bookes and learning, to have a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appoynted as I have sayd.

That no nation of the Indies hath beene found to have had the vse of letters. CHAP. 4.

LEtters were invented to signifie properly the words we do pronounce, even as woordes (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughtes and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voyce for such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie wordes, but things, cannot be called, neyther in trueth are they letters, although they be written, for wee can not say that the Picture of the sunne be a writing of the sunne, but onely a picture; the like may be saide of other signes and characters, which have no resemblance to the thing, but serve onely for memorie: for he that invented them, did not ordaine them to signifie wordes, but onely to note the thing: neyther do they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers, or remembraunces, as those be which the Spherists or Astronomers do vse, to signifie divers signes or planets of *Mars*, *Venus*, *Iupiter*, *&c.*

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soever *Mars* may have in Italian, French, or Spanish, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for althogh they figuify the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know

not

not the tongue, vnderstand them not: as for example, the Greekes nor the Hebrews, cannot conceive what this word *Sol* doth signifie, although they see it written; for that they vnderstand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may observe two notable things. The one, that the memory of histories and antiquities may bee preserved by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene vsed amongst the Latines, Greekes, Hebrews, and many other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene vsed almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second *Nicene* Counsell, *Painting is a booke for fooles which cannot reade:* or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may observe thereby, is that which is propounded in this chapter, which is, that no Nation of the *Indies* discovered in our time, hath had the vse of letters and writings, but of the other two sortes, images, and figures. The which I observe, not onely of the *Indies* of *Peru*, and new *Spaine*, but also of *Iappon*, and *China*. And although this may seeme false to some, seeing it is testified by the discourses that have beene written, that there are so great Libraries and Vniversities in *China*, and *Iappon*, and that mention is made of their *Chapas*, letters, and expeditions, yet that which I say, is true, as you may vnderstand by the discourse following.

of

Of the fashion of Letters, and Bookes, the Chinois vsed.

CHAP. 5.

THere are many which thinke, and it is the most common opinion, that the writings which the *Chinois* vsed, are letters, as those we vse in Europe, and that by them wee may write wordes and discourses, and that they only differ from our letters and writings, in the diversitie of caracters, as the Greekes differ from the Latines, and the Hebrews from the Chaldees. But it is not so, for they have no Alphabet, neither write they any letters, but all their writing is nothing else but painting and ciphering: and their letters signifie no partes of distinctions, as ours do, but are figures and representations of things, as of the Sunne, of fire, of a man, of the sea, and of other things. The which appears plainely, for that their writings and *Chapas*, are vnderstood of them all, although the languages the *Chinois* speake, are many and very different, in like sort as our numbers of ciphers are equally vnderstoode in the Spanish, French, and Arabian tongues: for this figure 8. whersoever it be, signifies eight, although the French call this number of one sort, and the Spaniards of another. So as things being of themselves innumerable, the letters likewise or figures which the *Chinois* vse to signifie them by, are in a maner infinite: so as he that shall reade or write at *China*, (as the *Mandarins* doe,) must know and keepe in memory at the least foure score and five thousand characters or letters, and those which are perfect herein, know above sixscore thousand. A strange and prodigious thing; yea, incredible, if it were not testified by men worthy of credite, as the fathers of our company, who are there continually, learning their

language

language and writing, wherein they have ſtudied day and night above tenne yeares, with a continuall labour; for the charitie of Chriſt, and the deſire of ſalvation of ſoules, prevailed in them above all this labour and difficultie. For this reaſon learned men are ſo much eſteemed in *China*, for the difficultie there is to conceive them: & thoſe only have the offices of Mandarins, Governours, Iudges, and Captaines. For this cauſe the fathers take great pains to inſtruct their children to reade and write. There are many of theſe ſchooles where the children are taught, where the maſters teach them by day, and the fathers at home by night: ſo as they hurt their eyes much, and they whippe them often with reedes, although not ſo ſeverely as they doe offenders. They call it the *Mandarin* tongue, which requires a mans age to be conceived. And you muſt vnderſtand, that although the tongue which the *Mandarins* ſpeake, bee peculiar and different from the Vulgar, which are many, and that they ſtudie it, as they doe Latine & Greeke heere, and that the learned only throghout all *China*, do vnderſtand it: ſo it is notwithſtanding that all that is written in it, is vnderſtood in all tongues: and although all the Provinces doe not vnderſtand one another by ſpeaking, yet by writing they doe: for there is but one ſort of figures and characters for them all, which ſignifie one thing, but not the ſame word and prolation: ſeeing (as I have ſaid,) they are onely to denote the things, and not the worde, as we may eaſily vnderſtand by the examples of numbers in ciphering. And they of *Iappon* & the *Chinois*, do reade and vnderſtand well the writings one of another, although they be divers Nations, and different in tongue and language. If they ſpeake what they reade or write, they

ſhould

should not bee vnderstood. Such are the letters and bookes the *Chinois* vse, being so famous in the world. To make their impressions, they grave a boord or plank with the figures they will print, then do they stampe as many leaves of paper as they list, of the same sort as they have made their pictures, the which are graven in copper or wood. But a man of iudgement may aske, how they could signifie their conceptions by figures, which approached neere or resemble the thing they would represent? As to say, the Sunne heats, or, that he hath beheld the Sunne, or, the day is of the Sunne. Finally, how it were possible to denote by the same figures, the case, the coniunction, and the articles, which are in many tongues and writings? I answer thereunto, that they distinguish and signifie this varietie by certaine points, strikes, and dispositions of the figure. But it is difficult to vnderstand how they can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they have never seene, and not able to invent figures proper vnto them. I have made triall thereof being in *Mexico* with the *Chinois*, willing them to write this proposition in their language, *Ioseph Acosta is come from* Peru: and such like: wherevpon the *Chinois* was long pensive, but in the end hee did write it, the which other *Chinois* did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronountiation of the proper name. For they vse this devise to write a proper name: they seeke out something in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome, to write such names. Vpon this purpose, father *Allonso Sanchez*

told

told vs, that when he was in *China*, being led into divers Tribunall seates, from *Manderin* to *Manderin*, they were long in putting his name in writing in their *Chapas*, yet in the end they did write it after their maner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of letters and writings which the *Chinois* vsed. That of the *Iapponois* approched very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of *Iappon* that came into *Europe*, did write all things very easily in their language, were they of our proper names: yea, I have had some of their writings shewed me, whereby it seemes they should have some kinde of letters, although the greatest part of their writings, be by the characters and figures, as hath bin saide of the *Chinois*.

Of the Schooles and Vniversities of China.

Chap. 6.

THe fathers of our company say, that they have not seene in *China*, any great schooles or vniversities of Philosophie, and other naturall sciences, beleeving there is not any, but that all their studie is in the *Manderin* tongue, which is very ample and hard, as I have said: and what they studie, bee things written in their owne tongue, which be histories of sects, and opinions, of civill lawes, of morall proverbes, of fables, and many other such compositions that depend thereon. Of divine sciences they have no knowledge, neither of naturall things, but some small remainders of straied propositions, without art or methode, according to everie mans witte and studie. As for the Mathematikes, they have experience of the celestiall motions, and of the starres. And for Phisicke, they have knowledge

lege of herbs, by means wherof, they cure many diſeaſes, & vſe it much. They write with penſils, & have many books writen with the hand, and others printed, but in a bad order. They are great plaiers of comedies, the which they perform with great preparation of theaters, apparel, bels, drums, and voices. Some fathers report to have ſeene comedies which laſted ten or twelve dayes and nights, without any want of comedians, nor company to beholde them. They doe make many different ſceanes, and whilſt ſome act, the others feede and ſleep. In theſe comedies they do commonly treate of morall things, and of good examples, intermingled with pleaſant deviſes. This is the ſumme of that which our men report of the letters and exerciſes of them of *China*, wherein wee muſt confeſſe to be much wit and induſtrie. But all this is of ſmall ſubſtance, for in effect all the knowledge of the *Chinois*, tendes onely to reade and write, & no farther: for they attaine to no high knowledge. And their writing, and reading, is not properly reading, and writing; ſeeing their letters are no letters that can repreſent wordes, but figures of innumerable things, the which cannot be learned, but in a long time and with infinite labour. But in the end with all their knowledge, an Indian of *Peru* or *Mexico*, that hath learned to reade and write, knowes more then the wiſeſt *Mandarin* that is amongſt them: for that the Indian with foure and twentie letters which he hath learned, will write all the wordes in the world: and a *Mandarin* with his hundred thouſand letters, will be troubled to write ſome proper name, as of *Martin*, or *Alonſo*, & with greater reaſon he ſhalbe leſſe able to write the names of things he knowes not. So as the writing in *China*, is no other thing but a maner of painting or ciphring.

of

Of the fashion of letters and writings which the Mexicaines used. CHAP. 7.

WE finde amongest the Nations of New *Spaine* a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the Indians had preserved their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtill and curious as the Chinois, and those of *Iappon*, yet had they some kinde of letters and bookes amongest them, whereby they preserved (after their manner) the deeds of their predecessors. In the province of *Yu-latan*, where the Bishopricke is, which they call *de Honduras*, there were bookes of the leaves of trees, folded and squared, after their manner, in the which the wise Indians contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pedant that all this was an inchantment & magicke arte, who did obstinately maintaine, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since, not onely the Indians found to be ill done, but also the curious Spaniards, who desired to know the secrets of the countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but superstition, have lost many memorialls of ancient and holy things, which might have profited much. This proceedeth of a fooliish and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to knowe what concerned the Indians, say preiudicately, that they are all but witchcrafts, and that all the Indians are but drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing.

For

For such as would be curiously informed of them, have found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Iesuites, a man very witty and wel experienced, did assemble in the province of *Mexico*, the Antients of *Tescuco*, of *Talla*, and of *Mexico*, conferring at large with them, who shewed vnto him their books, histories and kalenders, things very woorthy the sight, bicause they had their figures and hierogliphicks, wherby they represented things in this maner: Such as had forme or figure, were represented by their proper images, and such as had not any, were represented by characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to observe the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted wheeles, for every one of them contained an age, which was two and fifty yeares, as hath beene said; and of the side of those wheeles, they did paint with figures and characters right against the yeare, the memorable things that happened therein. As they noted the yeare whenas the Spaniards entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a hatte and a red ierkin, vpon the signe of the reede, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their writings and characters were not sufficient as our letters and writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to reherse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and auntient Rhethoritians, and many *Chapas* made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hierogliphickes and Characters) the Mexicaines were very curious to have their children learne those dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had

Schooles,

Schooles, and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries, where the Auncients taught children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to have their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoritians, and to practise the office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the Spaniardes came into their Country, and had taught them reade and write our letters, many of the Indians then wrote these Orations, as some grave men doe witnes that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happly reade these long and eloquent discourses in the Mexicaine Historie, will easilie beleeve they have beene invented by the Spaniardes, and not really taken and reported from the Indians. But having knowne the certaine trueth, they will give credite (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I have seene for my better satisfaction, the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Simboll*, or generall confession of our faith, written in this manner by the Indians.

And in trueth whosoever shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these wordes, I a sinner do confesse my selfe, they painted an Indian vppon his knees, at a religious mans feete, as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, *To God most mighty*, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the Trinitie, and *To the glorious Virgine Marie*, they painted the face of our Lady, and halfe the body of a little childe: and for S. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, heads with crowns, and a key with a sword: and whereas images failed, they did set cha-

racters, as *Wherein I have sinned, &c.* whereby wee may conceive the quickenesse of spirite of these Indians, seeing this manner of writing of our prayers and matters of faith hath not beene taught them by the Spaniards, neither could they have done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I have seene in *Peru*, a confession of sinnes brought by an Indian, written in the same sorte with pictures and characters, painting every one of the tenne Commandementes, after a certaine manner, where there were certaine markes like ciphers, which were the sinnes hee had committed against the Commaundements. I nothing doubt but if any of the most sufficient Spaniards were imployed to make memorialles of the like things by their images and markes, they would not attaine vnto it in a whole yeare, no not in tenne.

Of Registers and the manner of reckoning which the Indians of Peru vsed.

Chap. 8.

BEfore the Spaniardes came to the Indies, they of *Peru* had no kinde of writing, either letters, characters, ciphers, or figures, like to those of *China* and *Mexico*: yet preserved they the memory of their Antiquities, and maintaine an order in all their affairs, of peace, warre, and pollicie, for that they were carefull obseruers of traditions from one to another, and the yoong ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their superiors had tolde them, and taught it with the like care to their posteritie. Besides this diligence, they supplied the want of letters and writings, partely by painting, as those of *Mexico*, (although they of *Peru* were

were very grose and blockish) and partely, and most commonly by *Quippos*. These *Quippos* are memorialls or registers, made of bowes, in the which there are diverse knottes and colours, which do signifie diverse things, and it is strange to see what they have expressed and represented by this meanes: for their *Quippos* serve them insteede of Bookes of histories, of lawes, ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires. There were officers appointed to keepe these *Quippos*, the which at this day they call *Quipocamayos*, the which were bound to give an account of every thing, as Notaries and Registers doe heere. Therefore they fully beleeved them in all things, for according to the varietie of businesse, as warres, pollicie, tributes, ceremonies and landes, there were sundry *Quippos* or braunches, in every one of the which there were so many knottes little and great, and strings tied vnto them, some red, some greene, some blew, some white; and finally, such diversitie, that even as wee derive an infinite number of woordes from the foure and twenty letters, applying them in diverse sortes, so doe they drawe innumerable woordes from their knottes, and diversitie of colours. Which thing they doe in such a manner, that if at this day in *Peru*, any Commissary come at the end of two or three yeares, to take information vppon the life of any officer, the Indians come with their small reckonings verified, saying, that in such a village they have given him so many egges which hee hath not payed for, in such a house a henne, in an other, two burdens of grasse for his horse, and that he hath paied but so much mony, and remaineth debtor so much. The proofe being presently made with these numbers of knottes and handfulls of cords, it remaines for a certaine testimony and register. I did

see a handfull of these strings, wherein an Indian woman carried written a generall confession of all her life, and thereby confessed herselfe, as well as I could have done it in written paper. I asked her what those strings meant that differed from the rest: she aunswered mee, they were certaine circumstaunces which the sin required to be fully confessed. Beside these *Quippos* of thred, they have an other, as it were a kinde of writing with small stones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they desire to know by heart. It is a pleasant thing to see the olde and the impotent (with a wheele made of small stones) learne the *Pater noster*. with another the *Ave Maria*, with another the Creede; and to remember what stone signifies, *Which was conceived by the holy ghost*, and which, *Suffered under Pontius Pilate*.

It is a pleasant thing to see them correct themselves when they doe erre; for all their correction consisteth onely in beholding of their small stones. One of these wheeles were sufficient to make mee forget all that I do knowe by heart. There are a great number of these wheeles in the Church-yardes for this purpose. But it seemes a kinde of witchcraft, to see an other kinde of *Quippos*, which they make of graines of Mays, for to cast vp a hard account, wherein a good Arithmetitian would be troubled with his penne to make a division: to see how much every one must contribute: they do drawe so many graines from one side, and adde so many to another, with a thousand other inventions. These Indians wil take their graines, and place five of one side, three of another, and eight of another, and wil change one graine of one side, and three of another: So as they finish a certaine account, without erring in any poynt:

and

and they sooner submitte themselves to reason by these *Quippos*, what every one ought to pay, then we can do with the penne. Hereby we may iudge if they have any vnderstanding, or be brutish: for my parte, I think they passe vs in those things, wherevnto they do apply themselves.

Of the order the Indians holde in their writings. Chap. 9.

IT shalbe good to adde heerevnto what we have observed, touching the Indians writings: for their maner was not to write with a continued line, but from the toppe to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The Latines and Greeks do write from the left-hand vnto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner we do vse. The Hebrewes contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their bookes beganne where ours did end. The *Chinois* write neither like the Greeks nor like the Hebrews, but from the toppe to the bottome, for as they be no letters but whole wordes, and that every figure and character signifieth a thing, they have no neede to assemble the parts one with an other, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of *Mexico*, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrarie to the *Chinois*, beginning below, they mounted vpward. They vsed this maner of writing, in the account of their daies, and other things which they observed: Yet when they did write in their wheels or signes, they beganne from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres vnto the round and circumference of the wheele. To conclude, wee

finde foure different kindes of writings, some writte from the right to the left, others from the left to the right, some from the toppe to the bottome, and others from the foote to the toppe, wherein wee may discover the diversity of mans iudgement.

How the Indians dispatched their Messengers.

Chap. 10.

TO finish the maner they had of writing, some may with reason doubt how the Kings of *Mexico* and *Peru* had intelligence from all those realmes that were so great, or by what meanes they could dispatch their affaires in Court, seeing they had no vse of any letters, nor to write pacquets: wherein we may be satisfied of this doubt, when we vnderstand, that by wordes, pictures, and these memorialles, they were often advertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which served as curriers, to goe and come, whome they did nourish in this exercise of running from their youth, labouring to have them well breathed, that they might runne to the toppe of a high hill without wearines. And therefore in *Mexico* they gave the prize to three or foure that first mounted vp the staires of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in *Cusco*, when they made their solemne feast of *Capacrayme*, the novices did runne who could fastest vp the rocke of *Ynacauri*. And the exercise of running is generall; much vsed among the Indians. Whenas there chaunced any matter of importaunce, they sent vnto the Lordes of *Mexico*, the thing painted, whereof they would advertise them, as they did when the first Spanish ships appeared to their sight, & when they

they tooke *Topanchan*. In *Peru* they were very curious of footemen, and the *Ingua* had them in all parts of the realme, as ordinary Posts called *Chasquis*, whereof shall be spoken in his place.

Of the manner of governement, and of the Kings which the Indians had.

Chap. II.

IT is apparant, that the thing wherein these barbarous people shew their barbarisme, was in their governement and manner of commaund: for the more that men approch to reason, the more milde is their governement and lesse insolent; the Kings and Lords are more tractable, agreeing better with their subiects, acknowledging them equall in nature, though inferiour in duetie and care of the commonwealth. But amongst the Barbarians all is contrary, for that their government is tyrannous, vsing their subiects like beasts, and seeking to be reverenced like gods: For this occasion many nations of the *Indies* have not indured any Kings, or absolute & soveraigne Lords, but live in comminalties, creating and appointing Captains and Princes, for certaine occasions onely, to whome they obey during the time of their charge, then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this new world (where there are no settled kingdomes, nor established commonweales, neither princes nor succeeding kings) they governe themselves in this manner, although there be some Lordes and principall men raised above the common sort. In this sorte the whole Countrey of *Chille* is governed, where the *Auracanes*, those of *Teucapell* and others, have so many yeeres resisted the Spaniardes.

And in like sort all the new kingdome of *Grenado*, that of *Guatimalla*, the Ilandes, all *Florida*, *Bresill*, *Luson* and other countries of great circuite: but that in some places, they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all commaund and governe in common, having no other thing, but wil, violence, industry and disorder, so as he that most may, most commaunds. At the East *Indies* there are great kingdomes, well ordered and governed, as that of *Sian*, *Bisnaga*, and others, which may bring to field when they please, a hundred or two hundred thousand men.

As likewise the Kingdome of *China*, the which in greatnes and power, surpasseth all the rest, whose kings, (as they report,) have continued above two thousand yeares, by meanes of their good order and government. But at the West *Indies*, they have onely found two Kingdomes or setled Empires, that of the *Mexicaines* in new *Spaine*, and of the *Inguas* in *Peru*. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that *Motecçuma*, exceeded them of *Peru*, in buildings, and in the greatnes of his court: but the *Inguas*, did likewise exceede the *Mexicaines*, in treasure, riches, and greatnes of Provinces. In regarde of antiquitie; the Monarchie of the *Inguas*, hath the advantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they have beene equall in feates of armes and victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes have much exceeded all the Indian Provinces, discovered in this new world, as well in good order and government, as in power and wealth, and much more in superstition and service of their idolls, having many things like one to an other. But in one thing they differed much, for among the *Mexicaines*, the succession of the kingdome,

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was by election, as the Empire of the Romans, and that of *Peru*, was hereditarie, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of *Fraunce*, and *Spaine*. I will therefore heereafter treate of these two governments, (as the chiefe subiect and best knowne amongst the Indians,) being fit for this discourse, leaving many and tedious things which are not of importance.

Of the Government of the Kings and Inguas of Peru.

Chap. 12.

THe *Ingua* which ruled in *Peru*, being dead, his lawfull sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe wife, whome they called *Coya*. The which they have alwaies observed since the time of an *Ingua*, calld *Yupangui*, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marry their sisters. And although they had other wives, and concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertained to the sonne of the *Coya*. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate brother, he succeeded before the sonne, and after him his nephew, and sonne to the first. The *Curacas*, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and offices. And after their maner they made excessive ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. They observed one custome very great & full of state, that a King which entred newly into his Kingdome, should not inherite any thing of the movables, implements, and treasure of his predecessour, but hee must furnish his house new, and gather together gold, silver, and other things necessarie, not touching any thing of the deceased, the which was wholy dedicated for his Oratorie or *Guaca*, and for the entertainment of the family he left, the which with his of-spring, was

alwayes

alwaies busied at the sacrifices, ceremonies, and service of the deceased King: for being dead, they presently held him for a god, making sacrifices vnto him, images, and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite treasure in *Peru*: for every one of the *Inguas*, had laboured to have his Oratorie and treasure surpasse that of his predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby they took possession of the realme, was a red rowle of wooll, more fine then silke, the which hung in the middest of his forehead: and none but the *Ingua* alone might weare it, for that it was as a Crowne and royall Diademe: yet they might lawfully weare a rowle hanging on the one side, neere vnto the eare, as some Noblemen did, but onely the *Ingua* might carry it in the middest of his forehead. At such time as they tooke this roule or wreathe, they made solemne feasts, and many sacrifices, with a great quantity of vessell of gold, and silver, a great number of small formes or images of sheep, made of gold and silver, great abundance of the stuffes of *Cumby*, well wrought, both fine and courser, many shells of the sea of all sortes, many feathers, and a thousand sheepe, which must be of divers colours. Then the chiefe Priest tooke a yong child in his handes, of the age of six or eight yeares, pronouncing these wordes with the other ministers speaking to the image of *Viracocha, Lord we offer this vnto thee, that thou maiest maintaine vs in quiet, and helpe vs in our warres, maintaine our Lord the* Ingua *in his greatnes and estate, that hee may alwaies increase, giving him much knowledge to governe vs.* There were present at this ceremony and oath, men of all partes of the Realme, and of all *Guacas* and Sanctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reverence this people bare to their Kings *Inguas*, was very great

great, for it is never found that any one of his subiectes committed treason against him, for that they proceeded in their governments, not only with an absolute power, but also with good order and iustice, suffering no man to be oppressed: The *Ingua* placed governours in divers Provinces, amongst the which, some were superiors, and did acknowledge none but himselfe, others were of lesse commaund, and others more particular, with so goodly an order, and such gravitie, as no man durst bee drunke, nor take an eare of Mays from his neighbour. These *Inguas* held it for a maxime, that it was necessary to keepe the Indians alwaies in action: and therefore we see it to this day, long cawseies and workes of great labour, the which they say were made to exercise the Indians, lest they should remaine idle. When he conquered any new Province, he was accustomed presently to send the greatest part, and the chiefe of that Country into other Provinces, or else to his Court, and they call them at this day in *Peru*, *Mitimas*, and in their places hee sent others of the Nation of *Cusco*, especially the *Oreiones*, which were as Knights of an ancient house. They punished faultes rigorously. And therefore such as have any vnderstanding heereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better government for the Indians, nor more assured, then that of the *Inguas*.

Of the distribution the Inguas *made of their Vessell.* Chap. 13.

TO relate more particularly what I have spoken before, you must vnderstand, that the distribution which the *Inguas* made of their vessells, was so exact and

and distinct, as he might governe them all with great facilitie, although his realme were a thousand leagues long: for having conquered a Province, he presently reduced the Indians into Towns and Comminalties, the which he divided into bandes, hee appointed one to have the charge over every ten Indians, over every hundred another, over every thousand another, & over ten thousand another, whom they called *Humo*, the which was one of the greatest charges. Yet above all in every Province, there was a Governour of the house of the *Inguas*, whom all the rest obeyed, giving vnto him every yeare in particular account of what had passed, that is, of such as were borne, of those that were dead and of their troups and graine. The Governors went every yeare out of *Cusco*, where they remained, and returned to the great feast of *Rayme*, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court, neither might they enter but with this condition. All the Kingdome was divided into foure partes, which they called *Tahuantinsuyo*, that is, *Chinchasuyo*, *Collasuyo*, *Andesuyo*, & *Condesuyo*, according to the foure waies which went from *Cusco*, where the Court was resident, and where the generall assemblies of the realme were made. These waies and Provinces being answerable vnto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world, *Collasuyo* to the South, *Chinchasuyo* to the North, *Condesuyo* to the West, and *Andesuyo* to the East. In every towne and village, there were two sortes of people, which were of *Hananſaya*, and *Vrinſaya*, which is as much to say, as those above, and those below. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furnish any thing to the *Ingua*, the officers knew presently how much every Province, Towne, and Family,

ought

ought to furnish: so as the division was not made by equall portions, but by cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrie. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thousand *Fanegues* of Mays, they knew presently how much every Province was to contribute, were it a tenth, a seventh, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, *Ailos*, or Linages. The *Quipocamayos*, which were the officers and intendants, kept the account of all with their strings and knottes, without failing, setting downe what every one had paied, even to a hen, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did see by divers registers what every one ought to pay.

Of the Edifices and maner of building of the Inguas. Chap. 14.

THE Edifices and Buildings which the *Inguas* made in temples, fortresses, waies, countrie houses, and such like, were many in number, and of an excessive labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remainders, both in *Cusco*, *Tyaguanaco*, *Tambo*, and other places, where there are stones of an vnmeasurable greatnes: so as men cannot conceive how they were cut, brought, and set in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Provinces, to worke in these buildings and fortresses, which the *Ingua* caused to be made in *Cusco*, or other partes of the Realme. As these workes were strange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they vsed no morter nor ciment, neither any yron, or steele, to cut, and set the stones in worke. They had no engines or other instruments to carrie them, and yet were they so artificially wrought, that

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in many places they could not see the ioyntes: and many of these stones are so big, that it were an incredible thing, if one should not see them. [At *Tiaguanaco*, I did measure a stone of thirty eight foote long, of eighteene broade, and six thicke. [And in the wall of the fortresse of *Cusco*, which is of *Moallon*, there are stones of a greater bignes. And that which is most strange, these stones being not cut nor squared to ioyne, but contrariwise, very vnequall one with another in forme and greatnes, yet did they ioyne them together without ciment, after an incredible maner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an invincible patience. For to ioyne one stone with an other, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being vneven. The *Ingua* appoynted every yeare what numbers of people should labour in these stones and buildings, and the *Indians* made a division amongest them, as of other things, so as no man was oppressed. Although these buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appoynted and vnfit, almost like to the Mosquites or buildings of the Barbarians.

They could make no arches in their edifices, nor morter or cyment to builde them withall: when they saw arches of wood built vpon the river of *Xaura*, the bridge being finished, and the wood broken downe, they all beganne to runne away, supposing that the bridge which was of stone should presently fall; but when they found it to stand firme, and that the Spaniards went on it, the *Cacique* saide to his companions; *It is reason we should serve these men, who in trueth seeme to be the children of the Sunne.* The bridges they made were of reedes plaited, which they tied to the bankes with great stakes, for that they could not make any bridges

of stone or wood. The bridge which is at this day vpon the current of the great lake *Chiquitto* in *Collao* is admirable, for the course of that water is so deep, as they can not settle any foundation, and so broade, that it is impossible to make an arch to passe it: so as it was altogether impossible to make a bridge eyther of wood or stone. But the wit and industry of the *Indians* invented a meanes to make a firme and assured bridge, being only of strawe, which seemeth fabulous, yet is it very true: For as we have said before, they did binde together certaine bundles of reedes, and weedes, which do grow in the lake that they call *Totora*, and being a light matter that sinkes not in the water, they cast it vppon a great quantity of reedes, then having tyed those bundles of weedes to either side of the river, both men and beasts goe over it with ease: passing over this bridge I have woondered, that of so common and easie a thing, they had made a bridge, better, and more assured than the bridge of boates from *Seville* to *Triane*. I have measured the length of this bridge, and as I remember, it was above three hundred foote; and they say that the depth of this current is very great: and it seemes above, that the water hath no motion, yet they say, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious course. And this shall suffice for buildings.

Of the Inguas revenues, and the order of Tributes they imposed vpon the Indians.

Chap. 15.

THe *Inguas* riches was incomparable, for although no king did inherite the riches and treasure of his predecessor, yet had he at commaund, all the riches of his

his realmes, aſwell ſilver and gold, as the ſtuffe of *Cumbi*, and cattell, wherein they abounded, and their greateſt riches of all, was their innumerable number of vaſſalles, which were all imployed as it pleaſed the King. They brought out of every province what he had choſen for tribute. The *Chicas* ſent him ſweete and rich woods; the *Lucanas* ſent Brancars to carry his Litter; The *Chumbilbicas*, dauncers; and ſo the other provinces ſent him what they had of aboundaunce, beſides their generall tribute, wherevnto every one contributed. The Indians that were noted to that end, labored in the mines of golde aud ſilver, which did abound in *Peru*, whom the *Ingua* intertained with all they needed for their expences: and whatſoever they drew of gold and ſilver, was for him. By this meanes there were ſo great treaſures in this kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the handes of the Spaniardes, (although it were very much) as wee know) was it not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could never diſcover, notwithſtanding all the ſearch covetouſneſſe had taught them. But the greateſt wealth of theſe barbarous people, was, that their vaſſalles were all ſlaves, whoſe labour they vſed at their pleaſure: and that which is admirable, they imployed them in ſuch ſorte, as it was no ſervitude vnto them, but rather a pleaſing life. But to vnderſtand the order of tributes which the Indians payed vnto their Lordes, you muſt knowe, that when the *Ingua* conquered any citties, he divided all the land into three partes, the firſt was, for religion and ceremonies, ſo as the *Pachayachaqui*, which is the Creator, and the Sunne, the *Chuquilla*, which is the Thunder, the *Pachamama*, and the dead, and other *Guacas* and ſanctu-

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aries,

aries, had every one their proper lands, the fruits whereof were spoyled and consumed in sacrifices, and in the nouriſhing of miniſters and prieſts; for there were Indians appoynted for every *Guaca*, and ſanctuary, and the greateſt parte of this revenue was ſpent in *Cuſco*, where was the vniverſall and generall ſanctuarie, and the reſt in that cittie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of *Cuſco*, there were in every Citie, *Guacas*, and Oratories of the ſame order, and with the ſame functions, which were ſerved after the ſame manner and ceremonies to that of *Cuſco*, which is an admirable thing, and they have found it by proofe in above a hundred townes, ſome of them diſtant above twoo hundred leagues from *Cuſco*. That which they ſowed or reapt vpon their land, was put into houſes, as greniers, or ſtore-houſes, built for that effect, and this was a great parte of the Tribute which the Indians payed. I can not ſay how much this parte amounted vnto, for that it was greater in ſome partes than in other, and in ſome places it was in a manner all: and this parte was the firſt they put to profite. The ſecond parte of theſe 2 lands and inheritances was for the *Iugua*, wherewith he and his houſholde were entertained, with his kinsfolks, noblemen, garriſons and ſouldiers. And therefore it was the greateſt portion of theſe tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of golde, ſilver, and other tributes, which were in houſes appoynted for that purpoſe, being longer and larger than thoſe where they keepe the revenues of the *Guacas*. They brought this tribute very carefully to *Cuſco*, or vnto ſuch places where it was needefull for the ſouldiers, and when there was ſtore, that kept it tenne or twelve yeares, vntill a time of neceſſitie. The Indians tilled and put to profite the *In-*

guas lands, next to those of the *Guacas*; during which time they lived and were nourished at the charges of the *Ingua*, of the Sunne, or of the *Guacas*; according to the land they laboured. But the olde men, women, and sicke folkes were reserved and exempt from this tribute, and although whatsoever they gathered vpon those lands were for the *Ingua*, the Sunne, or the *Guacas*, yet the property appertayned vnto the *Indians* and their successors. 3? part The third parte of these landes were given by the *Ingua* for the comminaltie, and they have not yet discovered, whether this portion were greater, or lesse, than that of the *Ingua* or *Guacas*. It is most certaine they had a care and regarde, it might be sufficient for the nourishment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himself of this third portion, neither didde the *Indians* ever possesse any, if it were not by speciall grace from the *Ingua*: & yet might it not be engaged nor divided amongest his heires. So among the 6 nations They every yeare divided these landes of the comminaltie, in giving to every one, that which was needfull for the nourishment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they encrease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appoynted for every person. The *Indians* payed no tribute of that which was apportioned vnto them: For all their tribute was to till and keepe in good order the landes of the *Ingua*, and the *Guacas*, and to lay the fruits thereof in their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gave of these fruits thus reserved to the needy, for that there is alwayes superaboundance. The *Ingua* did likewise make destribution of the cattell as of the landes, which was to number and divide them; then to appoynt the pastures and limites, for the cattell belonging

longing to the *Guacas*, and to the *Ingua*, and to everie Towne: and therefore one portion of their revenues was for religion, another for the *Ingua*, & the third for the Indians themselves. The like order was observed among the hunters, being forbidden to take or kill any females. The troups of the *Inguas* and *Guacas*, were in great numbers and very fruitfull; for this cause they called them *Capaëllama*, but those of the common and publike, were few in number and of small valew, and therfore they called them *Bacchallama*. The *Ingua* took great care for the preservation of cattell, for that it hath beene, and is yet, all the wealth of the Countrey, and as it is sayd, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scurvie which they call *Carache* take any beast, they were presently commaunded to bury it quicke, lest it should infect others. They did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to every one to spinne and weave stuffes for the service of his familie. They had searchers to examine if they did employ themselves in these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made stuffes of the wooll of the *Inguas* cattell, for him and for his family, one sorte very fine, which they called *Cumbi*, and another grosser, which they likewise called *Abasca*. There was no certaine number of these stuffes and garments appointed, but what was delivered to every one. The wooll that remayned was put into the storehouses, whereof the Spaniards found them ful, and with all other things necessary for the life of man. There are few men of iudgement but doe admire at so excellent and well settled a governement, seeing the Indians (being neyther religious, nor christians) maintained after their manner,

Kapael Lama

this perfection, nor to holde any thing proper, and to provide for all their neceſſities, entertaining with ſuch aboundance matters of religion, and that which concerned their King and Lord.

Of artes and offices which the Indians did exerciſe.

Chap. 16.

THe Indians of *Peru* had one perfection, which was, to teach their young children all artes and occupations neceſſary for the life of man; for that there were no particular tradeſ-men, as amongeſt vs, taylers, ſhoomakers, weavers, and the reſt, but every one learned what was needefull for their perſons and houſes, and provided for themſelves. All coulde weave and make their garments, and therfore the *Ingua* furniſhing them with wooll, gave them clothes. Every man could till the ground, and put it to profite, without hyring of any labourers. All built their owne houſes, and the women vnderſtoode moſt, they were not bred vppe in delights, but ſerved their husbands carefully. Other arts and trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper companies and workmen, as goldſmiths, painters, potters, watermen, and players of inſtruments. There were alſo weavers and workemen for exquiſite workes, which the noblemen vſed: but the common people, as hath beene ſaid, had in their houſes all things neceſſary, having no need to buy. This continues to this day, ſo as they have no need one of another for things neceſſary: touching his perſon and family, as ſhooes and garments, and for their houſe, to ſowe and reape, and to make yron woorkes, and neceſſary inſtruments; the Indians heerein doe imitate

mitate the institutions of the lesse auntient, whereof is intreated in the life of the Fathers. In trueth it is a people not greatly covetous, nor curious, so as they are contented to passe their time quietly, and without doubt, if they made choise of this manner of life, by election, and not by custome or nature, we may say that it was a life of great perfection, being apt to receive the doctrine of the holy Gospel, so contrary an enimy to pride, covetousnes and delights. But the preachers give not alwayes good example, according to the doctrine they preach to the Indians. It is woorthy observation, although the Indians be simple in their manner and habites, yet do we see great diversitie amongest the provinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloth which went often about, in some places a large piece of cloth, which went but once about, in some parts as it were litle morters or hattes, in some others as it were high and round bonets, & some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inviolable lawe, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his province, although hee went to live in another. This the *Ingua* held to be of great importance for the order and good governement of his realme, and they doe observe it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

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Of the Posts and Chasquis the Indians did vse.

Chap. 17.

THere were many Posts and couriers which the *Ingua* maintened throughout his realme, whom they called *Chasquis*, and they carried commaundements

to the Governours, and returned their advises and advertisements to the Court. These *Chasquis* were placed at every course, which was a league and a halfe one fro an other in twoo small houses, where were foure Indians of every country, and they were changed monthly. Having received the packet or message, they ranne with all their force vntill they had delivered it to the other *Chasquis*, such as were to runne, being ready and watchfull. They ranne fifty leagues in a day and night, although the greatest parte of that countrey be very rough. They served also to carry such things as the *Ingua* desired to have with speede. Therefore they had always sea-fish in *Cusco*, of two dayes old or litle more, although it were above a hundred leagues off. Since the Spaniardes entred, they have vsed of these *Chasquis*, in time of seditions whereof there was great need. *Don Martin* the viceroy appoynted ordinary posts at everie foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches, which were very necessary in this realme, though they runne not so swiftly as the auntients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well payed, and serve as the ordinaries of *Spaine*, to whom they give letters which they carry foure or five leagues.

Of the iustice, lawes, and punishments which the Inguas have established, and of their marriages. Chap. 18.

EVen as such as had done any good service in warre, or in the governement of the common-weale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with lands given them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wives of the *Inguas* linage:

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Even so they gave severe punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murther, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no adultery to have many wives or concubines, neyther were the women subiect to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whome they contracted marriage; for they had but one whome they did wed and receive with a particular solempnitie and ceremony, which was in this maner: the bridegroome went to the brides house, and led her from thence with him, having first put an *Ottoya* vppon her foote. They call the shooe which they vse in those partes *Ottoya*, being open like to the Franciscan Friars. If the bride were a mayde, her *Ottoya* was of wooll, but if she were not, it was of reedes. All his other wives and concubines did honour and serve this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband caried a mourning weed of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry vntill that time were past; and commonly she was yonger than her husband. The *Ingua* himselfe with his own hand gave this woman to his Governors and captains: and the Governors or *Caciques*, assembled all the yongmen and maydes, in one place of the Citty, where they gave to every one his wife with the aforesaide ceremony, in putting on the *Ottoya*, and in this manner they contracted their marriages. If this woman were found with any other than her husband, shee was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted

the like punishment on him that did committe incest with his mother, grandmother, daughter, or grandchilde: for it was not prohibited for them to marry together, or to have of their other kinsfolkes for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to have the company of his sister, wherein they of *Peru* were very much deceived, beleeving that their *Inguas* and noble men might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in trueth it hath beene alwayes helde vnlawfull among the Indians, & defended to contract in the first degree; which continued vntill the time of *Topa Ingua Yupangui* father to *Guaynacapa*, and grandfather to *Atahualpa*, at such time as the Spaniards entered *Peru*, for that *Topa Ingua Yupangui*, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with *Mamaoello*, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the *Inguas* might marry with their sisters by the fathers side, & no other.

This he did, and by that marriage he had *Guaynacapa*, and a daughter called *Coya Cussillimay*: finding himselfe at the poynt of death, hee commaunded his children by father and mother to marry together, and gave permission to the noble men of his country, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was vnlawful, and against the lawe of nature, God would bring to an end this kingdome of the *Inguas*, during the raigne of *Guascar Ingua*, and *Atahualpa Ingua*, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Whoso will more exactly vnderstand the manner of marriages among the Indians of *Peru*, lette him reade the Treatise *Polo* hath written, at the request of *Don Ieronimo Loaisa* Archbishop of *Kings*: which *Polo* made a very curious search, as he hath doone of divers

other

other things at the *Indies*. The which importes much to be knowne to avoyde the errour and inconveniences whereinto many fall (which know not which is the lawfull wife or the concubine among the Indians) causing the Indian that is baptized to marry with his concubine, leaving the lawfull wife: thereby also wee may see the small reason some have had, that pretended to say, that wee ought to ratifie the marriage of those that were baptized, although they were brother and sister. The contrary hath beene determined by the provinciall Synode of *Lyma*, with much reason, seeing among the *Indians* themselves this kind of mariage is vnlawful.

Of the Originall of the Inguas *Lords of* Peru, *with their Conquests and Victories.*

Chap. 19.

BY the commandement of *Don Phillip* the Catholike King, they have made the most dilligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priviledges of the *Inguas*, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the Indians had no written recordes: yet they have recovered that which I shall write, by meanes of their *Quippos* and registers. First there was not in *Peru* in olde time, any King or Lord to whome all obeyed, but they were comminalties, as at this day there be in the realme of *Chille*, and in a maner, in all the Provinces which the Spaniards have conquered in those westerne *Indies*, except the realme of *Mexico*. You must therefore vnderstand, that they have found three maner of governments at the *Indies*. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the *Inguas*, and of *Motecuma*, although

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for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were governed by the advise and authoritie of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Captaine, to whome a whole Nation or Province did obey, and in time of peace, every Towne or Comminaltie did rule and governe themselves, having some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometimes, (though not often,) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of government, is altogether barbarous, composed of Indians without law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but go in troupes like savage beasts. As farre as I can conceive, the first inhabitants of the *Indies*, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the *Bresillians*, *Chiraguanas*, *Chunchos*; *Yscycingas Pilcocones*, and the greatest part of the *Floridians*, & all the *Chichimaquas* in new *Spaine*. Of this kind the other sort of government by Comminalties was framed, by the industrie and wisedome of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staied place, as at this day those of *Auracano*, and of *Teucapell* in *Chille*, and in the new kingdome of *Grenado*, the *Moscas*, and the *Ottomittes* in new *Spaine*: and in all these there is lesse fiercenes and incivilitie, and much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valure and knowledge of some excellent men, grew the other government more mightie and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchie. It appeares by their registers, that their government hath continued above three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seigniorie for a long time, was not above five or

six

six leagues compasse about the Citty of *Cusco*: their originall and beginning was in the valley of *Cusco*, where by little & little they conquered the lands which we call *Peru*, passing beyond *Quitto*, vnto the river of *Pasto* towardes the North, stretching even vnto *Chille*, towardes the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth vnto the South sea towardes the West, and vnto the great champains which are on the other side of the *Andes*, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the *Pucara* of the *Ingua*, the which is a fortresse built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The *Inguas* advanced no farther on that side, for the aboundance of water, marshes, lakes, and rivers, which runne in those partes. These *Inguas* passed all the other Nations of *Amarica*, in pollicy and government, and much more in valour and armes, although the *Canaries* which were their mortall enemies, and favoured the Spaniardes, would never confesse it, nor yeelde them this advantage: so as even at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparisons, and that they be a little chased and incensed, they kill one another by thousands vpon this quarrell, which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in *Cusco*. The practise and meanes which the *Inguas* had to make themselves Lords of all this Countrie, was in faining that since the generall deluge, (whereof all the Indians have knowledge,) the world had beene preserved, restored, and peopled by these *Inguas*, and that seven of them came forth of the cave of *Pacaricambo*, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be served and honoured:

honoured: and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they give to their customes and ceremonies. There were in *Cusco* above foure hundred Oratories, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their mysteries. As they continued in the conquests of Provinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In all this realme the chiefe idolls they did worship, were *Viracocha*, *Pachayachachic*, which signifies the Creator of the world, and after him, the Sunne. And therefore they said, that the Sunne received his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other idolls do, and that they were intercessors to him.

Of the first Ingua, *and his Successors.* CHAP. 20.

THe first man which the Indians report to be the beginning and first of the *Inguas*, was *Mangocapa*, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to have issued forth of the cave of *Tambo*, which is from *Cusco* about five or six leagues. They say that he gave beginning to two principall races or families of the *Inguas*, the one was called *Hanancusco*, and the other *Vrincusco*: of the first came the Lords which subdued and governed this Province, and the first whom they make the head and steame of this family, was called *Ingaroca*, who founded a family or *Aillo*, as they call them, named *Viçaquiquirao*. This although he were no great Lord, was served notwithstanding in vessell of gold and silver. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be imployed for the service of his body, and for the feeding of his family. His successor did the like: and this

grew

grew to a generall custome, as I have said, that no *Ingua* might inherite the goods and house of his predecessor, but did build a new pallace. In the time of this *Inguaroca*, the Indians had images of gold; and to him succeeded *Yaguarguàque*, a very old man: they say, he was called by this name, which signifies teares of blood, for that being once vanquished and taken by his enemies, for griefe and sorrow he wept blood. Hee was buried in a village called *Paullo*, which is vpon the way to *Omasugo:* he founded a family called *Aocuillidanaca*. To him succeeded his sonne *Viracocha Ingua*, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and silver: hee founded the linage or family of *Cocopanaca*. *Gonzales Pizarre* sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure was buried with him, who after he had cruelly tormented many Indians, in the end he found it in *Xaquixaquana*, whereas they said *Pizarre* was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President *Guasca*. *Gonsales Pizarre*, caused the body of *Viracocha Ingua* to be burnt; the Indians did afterwardes take the ashes, the which they preserved in a small vessell, making great sacrifices therevnto, vntill *Pollo* did reforme it, and other idolatries which they committed vpon the bodies of their other *Inguas*, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexterity, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby he extinguished a great number of idolatries which they committed. The Indians tooke it ill, that the *Ingua* did intitle himselfe *Viracocha*, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gave them to vnderstand, that the same *Viracocha* appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded *Pachacuti*

Ingua

Ingua Yupangui, who was a very valiant conquerour, a great Polititian, and an inventer of a great part of the traditions and superstitions of their idolatrie, as I will presently shew.

of Pachacuti Ingua, Yupangui, *and what happened in his time vnto* Guaynacapa.

Chap. 21.

Pachacuti Ingua Yupangui, rained seventy yeares, and conquered many Countries. The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who having held the government in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was over-throwne in a battle against the *Changuas*, a Nation which inhabites the valley of *Andaguaylas*, thirty or forty leagues from *Cusco*, vpon the way to *Lima*. This elder brother thus defeated, retyred himselfe with few men. The which *Ingua Yupangui*, his yonger brother seeing, devised and gave forth, that being one day alone and melancholie, *Viracocha* the Creator spake to him, complaining, that though he were vniversall Lord and Creator of all things, and that hee had made the heaven, the Sunne, the world, and men, and that all was vnder his command, yet did they not yeelde him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no virtue but what he imparted vnto them: giving him to vnderstand, that in heaven where hee was, they called him *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which signifieth vniversall Creator; and to the end the Indians might beleeve it to be true, he doubted not althogh he were alone, to raise men vnder this title, which

should

should give him victory against the *Changuas*, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make himselfe Lord of those realmes, for that he would send him men to his aide invisibly, whereby he prevailed in such sort, that vnder this colour and conceit, hee beganne to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mighty armie, with the which he obtayned the victorie, making himselfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the government from his father and brother. Then afterwardes he conquered and overthrew the *Changuas*, and from that time commanded that *Viracocha* should be held for vniversall Lord, and that the images of the Sunne and Thunder, should do him reverence and honour: And from that time they beganne to set the image of *Viracocha* above that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the *Guacas*. And although this *Ingua Yupangui* had given farmes, landes, and cattell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other *Guacas*, yet did he not dedicate any thing to *Viracocha*, saying, that he had no neede, being vniversall Lord and Creator of all things. He informed his souldiers after this absolute victory of the *Changuas*, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men, whome *Viracocha* had sent him, and that no man might see them but himselfe, which were since converted into stones; it was therefore necessary to seeke them out, whome he would know well. By this meanes hee gathered together a multitude of stones in the mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for *Guacas*, or Idolls they worshipped and sacrificed vnto; they called them *Pururaucas*, and carried them to the warre with great devotion, beleeving for certaine, that they had gotten the victory by their help. The imagination

and

and fiction of this *Ingua* was of such force, that by the meanes thereof hee obtained goodly victories: He founded the family called *Yuacapanaca*, and made a great image of golde, which hee called *Indijllapa*, which hee placed in a brancard of golde, very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the Indians tooke great store to carry to *Xaxamalca*, for the libertie and ransome of *Atahulpa*, when the Marquise *Francis Pizarre* held him prisoner. The Licentiate *Polo* found in his house in *Cusco*, his servants and *Mamacomas*, which did service to his memorie, and found that the body had beene transported from *Patallacta* to *Totocache*, where the Spaniards have since founded the parish of Saint *Blaise*. This body was so whole and preserved with a certaine rosin, that it seemed alive, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of golde, so artificially set, as they seemed very naturall eyes, he had a blowe with a stone on the head, which he had received in the warres, he was all grey and hairy, having lost no more haire than if hee had died but the same day, although it were seaventy and eight yeares since his decease. The foresaid *Polo* sent this body with some others of the *Inguas*, to the cittie of *Lima*, by the viceroyes commaund which was the Marquise of *Cánette*, and the which was very necessary to root out the idolatry of *Cusco*. Many Spaniards have seene this body with others in the hospitall of Saint *Andrew*, which the Marquise built, but they were much decayed. *Don Phillip Caritopa*, who was grand-childe or great grand-childe to this *Ingua*, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his family was great, which should be in the power of the *Yanaconas*, *Amaro*, *Toto*, and others. To this *Ingua* succeeded *Topaingua Yupangui*, to whom his son of the same name succeeded, who founded the family called *Cupac Aillo*.

of

Of the greatest and most famous Ingua called Guaynacapa.

Chap. 22.

TO this latter *Ingua* succeeded *Guaynacapa*, which is to say, a yoong man, rich and valiant, and so was he in trueth more than any of his predecessors, or successors. Hee was very wise, planting good orders thorowout his whole realme, hee was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. Hee therefore obtained great victories, and extended his dominions much farther then all his predecessors had done before him; he died in the realme of *Quitto*, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his court. The Indians opened him after his decease, leaving his heart and entrailes in *Quitto*, the body was carried to *Cusco*, the which was placed in the renowmed temple of the Sunne. We see yet to this day many cawseies, buildings, fortresses, and notable workes of this king: hee founded the familie of *Teme Bamba*. This *Guaynacapa* was worshipped of his subiects for a god, being yet alive, as the olde men affirme, which was not doone to any of his predecessours. When he died, they slew a thousand persons of his houshold, to serve him in the other life, all which died willingly for his service, insomuch that many of them offered themselves to death, besides such as were appoynted: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the Spaniards entred soone after his death, the Indians laboured much to conceale all, although a great parte thereof was carried to *Xaxamalca*, for the ransome of *Atahulpa* his sonne. Some woorthy of credite affirme that he hadde above three hundred sonnes and grand-

children in *Cuſco*. His mother called *Mamaoella* was much eſteemed amongſt them. *Polo* ſent hir body with that of *Guaynacapa* very well imbalmed to *Lima*, rooting out infinite idolatries. To *Guaynacapa* ſucceeded in *Cuſco* a ſonne of his called *Tiṇocuſſigualpa*, who ſince was called *Guaſpar Ingua*, his body was burned by the captaines of *Atahulpa*, who was likewiſe ſonne to *Guaynacapa*, and rebelled in *Quitto* againſt his brother, marching againſt him with a mighty armie. It happened that *Quiſquits* and *Chilicuchi* captains to *Atahulpa*, took *Guaſpar Ingua* in the cittie of *Cuſco*, being received for Lord and king (for that hee was the lawfull ſucceſſor) which cauſed great ſorrowe throughout all his kingdome, eſpecially in his Court. And as alwayes in their neceſſities they had recourſe to ſacrifices, finding themſelves vnable to ſet their Lord at libertie, aſwell for the great power the captaines had that tooke him, as alſo, for the great army that came with *Atahulpa*, they reſolved (ſome ſay by the commaundement of this *Ingua*) to make a great and ſolemne ſacrifice to *Viracocha Pachayachachic*, which ſignifieth vniverſall Creator, deſiring him, that ſince they coulde not deliver their Lord, he would ſend men from heaven to deliver him from priſon. And as they were in this great hope, vpon their ſacrifice, news came to them, that a certaine people come by ſea, was landed, and had taken *Atahulpa* priſoner. Heerevpon they called the Spaniards *Viracochas*, beleeving they were men ſent from God, aſwell for the ſmall number they were to take *Atahulpa* in *Xaxamalca*, as alſo, for that it chaunced after their ſacrifice done to *Viracocha*, and thereby they began to call the Spaniards *Viracochas*, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had given them good example, and ſuch

as

as we ought, these Indians had well applied it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and providence of God, disposed of the entry of our men at *Peru*, which had beene impossible, were not the dissention of the two brethren and their partisans, and the great opinion they hadde of christians, as of men sent from heaven, bound (by the taking of the Indians countrey) to labour to winne soules vnto Almightie God.

Of the last Successours Inguas. Chap. 23.

THe rest of this subiect is handled at large by the Spanish Writers in the histories of the *Indies*, and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake only of the succession of the *Inguas*. *Atahulpa* being dead in *Xaxamalca*, and *Guascar* in *Cusco*, and *Francis Pizarre* with his people having seised on the realme, *Mangocapa* sonne to *Guaynacapa* besieged them in *Cusco* very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Countrey, and retired himselfe to *Vilca Bamba*, where he kept himselfe in the mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult accesse, and there the successors *Inguas* remained, vntill *Amaro*, who was taken and executed in the market place of *Cusco*, to the Indians incredible griefe and sorrow, seeing iustice doone vpon him publiquely whome they helde for their Lorde. After which time, they imprisoned others of the linage of these *Inguas*. I have knowne *Don Charles* grand-childe to *Guaynacapa*, and son to *Polo*, who was baptized, and alwayes favoured the Spaniards against *Mangocapa* his brother, when the Marquise of *Canette* governed in this Countrey,

Fr: pizarro.

Sarritopaingua, went from *Vilcabamba*, and came vpon assurance to the citty of *Kings*, where there was given to him the valley of *Yucay*, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Beholde the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich familie of the *Inguas*, whose raigne continued above three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleaven successors, vntill it was wholy extinguished. In the other linage of *Vrincusco*, which (as we have said before) had his beginning likewise from the first *Mangocapa*, they reckon eight successors in this sort: To *Mangocapa* succeeded *Cincheraca*, to him *Capac Yupangui*, to him *Lluqui Yupangui*, to him *Maytaca paeſt Tarcogumam*, vnto whome succeeded his sonne, whome they name not, to this son succeeded *Don Iean Tambo*, *Maytapanaça*. This sufficeth for the originall aud succession of the *Inguas*, that governed the land of *Peru*, with that that I have spoken of their Lawes Governement, and manner of life.

Of the manner of the Mexicaines common-weale.

Chap. 24.

Although you may see by the historie which shalbe written of the kingdome, succession, & beginning of the Mexicaines, their maner of commonweale and governement, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fitte in generall to be most observed: Whereof I will discourse more amply in the historie. The first point whereby we may iudge the Mexicaine governement to be very politike, is the order they had and kept inviolable in the election of their king: for since their first, called *Acamapach*, vnto their last, which was *Mote-*

Mexico.

Motezuma.

çuma,

Iuma, the second of that name, there came none to the Crowne by right of succession, but by a lawfull nomination and election. This election in the beginning was by the voyce of the commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of *Iscoalt* the fourth king, by the advise and order of a wise and valiant man, called *Tlacael*, there were foure certayne Electours appoynted, which (with two lordes or kings subiect to the Mexicaine, the one of *Tescuco*, and the other of *Tacuba*) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose yoongmen for their kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they shoulde be fit for the warres, and take delight and glory therein. After the election they made twoo kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the royall estate, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices vppon the harth, called Divine, where there was a continuall fire before the Altare of the idoll, and after some Rhethoritians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solempne, was at his coronation, for the which he must first overcome in battell, and bring a certaine number of captives, which they must sacrifice to their gods; he entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solempne reception, aswell they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundry sortes of instruments, giving incense, and singing like Secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their devises to receive the victorious king. The Crowne or royall ensigne was before like to a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the fore parte

Crown Hereditarie

young men chosen

Feasts at y occasion

humane sacrifice

Crown form

was higher, and did rise like a poynt. The king of *Tescuco* had the privilege to crown the king of *Mexico*. The Mexicaines have beene very duetifull and loyall vnto their kings: and, it hath not beene knowne that they have practised any treason against them; onely their Histories report, that they sought to poison their king called *Ticocic*, being a coward, and of small account: but it is not found that there hath beene any dissentions or partialities amongest them for ambition, thogh it be an ordinary thing in Comminalties: but contrariwise they reporte, as you shall see heereafter, that a man, the best of the Mexicaines, refused this realme, seeming vnto him to be very expedient for the Common-weale to have an other king. In the beginning when the Mexicaines were but poore and weake, the kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they increased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, vntill they came to the greatnesse of *Motecuma*, who if hee had had no other thing but his house of beasts and birds, it had beene a prowde thing, the like whereof hath not beene seene: for there was in this house all sortes of fish, birds of *Xacamamas*, and beasts, as in an other *Noahs* Arke, for sea fish, there were pooles of salt-water, and for river fish, lakes of fresh-water, birds that do prey were fedde, and likewise wilde beasts in great aboundaunce: there were very many Indians imployed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, hee caused the image or likenesse to be made, richly cutte in pretious stones, silver, or golde, in marble, or in stone: and for all sortes of entertainements, hee had his severall houses and pallaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrowe

and

and mourning, and others to treate of the affairs of the realme. There was in this pallace many chambers, according to the qualitie of noble men that serued him, with a strange order and distinction.

Of the titles and dignities the Indians vsed.
Chap. 25.

THe Mexicaines have beene very curious, to divide the degrees and dignities amongst the Noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to give the greatest honour. The dignity of these foure Electors was the greatest, and most honourable, next to the king, and they were chosen presently after the kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neare kinsmen to the king, and were called *Tlacohecalcalt*, which signifies prince of darts, the which they cast, being a kind of armes they vse much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call *Tlacatecati*, which is to say, circumcisers or cutters of men. The third dignitie were of those which they called *Ezuahuacalt*, which signifies a sheader of blood. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another a fourth intituled, *Tlilancalqui*, which is as much to say, as Lord of the blacke house, or of darkenesse, by reason of certaine incke wherewith the Priests annoynted themselves, and did serue in their idolatries. All these foure dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose aduise the king might not doe any thing of importance: and the king being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsells and Audiences, and some say

there were as many as in *Spaine*, and that there were divers seates and iurisdictions, with their Counsellers and Iudges of the Court, and others that were vnder them, as *Corrigidors*, chiefe Iudges, captaines of Iustice, Lievetenants, and others, which were yet inferiour to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the king. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions of the sentences they had given. By meanes whereof they gave the king to vnderstand what had passed in his Realme.

Reuenue

There was a good order and settled policie for the revenues of the Crowne, for there were officers divided throughout all the provinces, as Receivers and Treasurers, which received the Tributes and royall revenews. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least every moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe growe or ingender on the land, or in the water, aswell of iewells and apparrell, as of meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their religion, superstition, and idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was given to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Lawe. Hereupon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the Indians were no good Christians, and did not profite in the lawe of God; an olde Indian answered him very well to the purpose in these termes: *Let the Priest* (saide hee) *imploy as much care and diligence to make the Indians christians, as the ministers of Idolles did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make vs the best christians in the worlde, for that the lawe of Iesus Christ is much better; but the Indians learne*

learne it not, for want of men to instruct them. Wherein hee spake the very trueth, to our great shame and confusion.

How the Mexicaines made Warre, and of their Orders of Knighthood CHAP. 26.

THE *Mexicaines* gave the first place of honour to the profession of armes, and therefore the Noblemen are their chiefe souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to dignities and honours, so as they were held for noblemen. They gave goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who inioyed priviledges that none else might have, the which did much incourage them. Their armes were of rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a horse. They had strange and heavy clubbes, lances, fashioned like pikes, and other maner of dartes to cast, wherein they were very expert; but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensive armes they had little rondaches or targets, and some kind of morions or head-peeces invironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnes of Tigres, Lions, and other sauage beasts. They came presently to hands with the enemie, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for their chiefe maner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take captives, the which they vsed in their sacrifices, as hath beene saide. *Moteçuma* set Knighthood in his highest splendor, ordaining certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes

and

and enſignes. The moſt honourable amongeſt the Knightes, were thoſe that carried the Crowne of their haire, tied with a little red ribband, having a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers vpon their ſhoulders, & roules of the ſame. They carried ſo many of theſe rowles, as they had done worthy deedes in warre. The King himſelfe was of this order, as may be ſeene in *Chapultepec*, where *Motecuma* and his ſonnes were attyred with thoſe kindes of feathers, cut in the rocke, the which is worthy the ſight. There was another order of Knighthood, which they called the Lions and the Tigres, the which were commonly the moſt valiant and moſt noted in warre, they went alwaies with their markes and armories. There were other Knightes, as the grey Knightes, the which were not ſo much reſpected as the reſt: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the war with markes like to the other Knightes, yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the moſt honourable were armed all over. All Knightes might carry golde and ſilver, and weare rich cotton, vſe painted and gilt veſſell, and carry ſhooes after their maner: but the common people might vſe none but earthen veſſell, neyther might they carry ſhooes, nor attyre themſelves but in *Nequen*, the which is a groſſe ſtuffe. Every order of theſe Knightes had his lodging in the pallace noted with their markes; the firſt was called the Princes lodging, the ſecond of Eagles, the third of Lions and Tigres, and the fourth of the grey Knightes. The other common officers, were lodged vnderneath in meaner lodgings: if any one lodged out of his place, he ſuffred death.

of

Of the great order and dilligence the Mexicaines vsed to instruct their youth.

Chap. 27.

Education.

THere is nothing that gives me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the *Mexicaines* had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, wher eof *Plato* treates amply in his bookes *De Legibus*: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties, (which are the two plagues of this age,) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a private house for childeren, as schooles, or colledges, which was seperate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we have discourſed at largee. There were in these schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behaviour, to respect their superiors, to serve and obey them, giving them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnt at the end, and to handle well a target and a sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselves to labour in their youth, and were not men given to

Schools or Colledges

Warre

delightes.

delightes. Besides the ordinary number of these children; there were in the same colledges, other children of Lordes and Noblemen, the which were instructed more privately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to antients and old men to have care over them, who continually did advise them to be vertuous and to live chastely; to be sober in their diet, to fast, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to travell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted to the war, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, vnder colour to carry victualls and munition to the souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heavy burthens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to bee noted, as they were eyther taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captives into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our maner, to be Ecclesiastical men, having attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the temple, in the lodging

appointed

appointed for religious men, and then they gave them the orders of Ecclesiasticall men. There had they prelates and masters, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined therevnto. These *Mexicaines* tooke great care to bring vp their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses and colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should florish much amongst the Indians. Some godly persons have begunne, and the King with his Counsell have favored it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they advance little, and proceede coldly. God open our eyes, that we may see it to our shame, seeing that we Christians do not that which the children of darkenes did to their perdition, wherin we forget our duties.

Of the Indians feasts and dances. Chap. 28.

Forasmuch as it is a thing which partly dependes of the good government of the Common-weale, to have some plaies and recreations when time serves; it shall not be from the purpose, to relate what the Indians did heerein, especially the *Mexicaines*. We have not discovered any Nation at the *Indies*, that live in comminalties, which have not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At *Peru* I have seene plaies in maner of combats, where the men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their *Paella* (which was the name of this exercise,) fell out to be dangerous. I have also seene divers sortes of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as sheepheards, laborers, fishers, and hunters,

hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very grave sound and pase: there were other dances and maskes, which they called *Guacones*, whose actions were pure representations of the divell. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they do in *Portugall*, the which they call *Paellas*. The greatest part of these dances, were superstitions, and kindes of idolatries: for that they honoured their idolls and *Guacas* in that maner. For this reason the Prelates have laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sportes of recreation, for alwaies they dance after their maner. In these dances, they vse sundry sortes of instruments, whereof, some are like flutes, or little *Canons*, others like drummes, and others like cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, contayning histories, and others were full of superstitions, and some were meere follies. Our men that have conversed among them, have laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath profited well: for that they imploy whole daies to rehearse and sing them, for the great pleasure and content they take in their tunes. They have likewise put our compositions of musicke into their language, as Octaves, Songs, and Rondells, the which they have very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very necessary meanes to instruct the people. In *Peru*, they commonly called dances, *Tagui*, in other Provinces, *Areittos*, and in *Mexico*, *Mittottes*. There hath not beene in any other place, any such curiositie of plaies and dances, as in new *Spaine*, where at this day we see Indians

dians so excellent dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance vpon a cord, some vpon a long and straight stake, in a thousand sundrie sortes, others with the soules of their feete and their hammes, do handle, cast vp and receive againe a very heavy blocke, which seems iucredible but in seeing it. They do make many other shewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, sometimes bearing a great and heavie burthen, sometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of yron. But the most vsuall exercise of recreation among the Mexicaines is the solemne *Mittotte*, and that is a kinde of daunce they held so brave and so honorable that the king himselfe daunced, but not ordinarily, as the king *Don Pedro* of *Arragon* with the Barber of *Valencia*. This daunce or *Mittotte* was commonly made in the Courts of the Temple, and in those of the kings houses, which were more spatious. They did place in the midst of the Court two instruments, one like to a drumme, and the other like a barrell made of one peece, and hollow within, which they set vppon the forme of a man, a beast, or vpon a piller.

These two instruments were so well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with these instruments they made many kinds of Aires, & Songs. They did all sing and dance to the sound and measure of these instruments, with so goodly an order and accord, both of their feete and voices, as it was a pleasant thing to beholde. In these daunces they made twoo circles or wheeles, the one was in the middest neere to the instruments, wherein the Auntients and Noblemen did sing and daunce with a softer and slowe motion; and the other was of the rest of the people round about them, but a good distance from the first, where-

vers

in they daunced two and two more lightly, making diuerſe kindes of paſes, with certaine leapes to the meaſure. All which together made a very great circle. They attired themſelves for theſe dances with their moſt pretious apparrell and iewelles, every one according to his abilitie, holding it for a very honorable thing: for this cauſe they learned theſe daunces from their infancie. And although the greateſt parte of them were doone in honor of their Idolles, yet was it not ſo inſtituted, as hath bin ſaid, but only as a recreation and paſtime for the people. Therefore it is not conuenient to take them quite from the Indians, but they muſt take good heed they mingle not their ſuperſtitions amongeſt them. I haue ſeene this *Mittotte*, in the court of the Church of *Topetzotlan*, a village ſeaven leagues from *Mexico*: and in my opinion, it was a good thing to buſie the Indians vpon feſtivall dayes, ſeeing they haue neede of ſome recreation: and becauſe it is publike, and without the preiudice of any other, there is leſſe inconvenience, than in others which may be done priuately by themſelves, if they tooke away theſe. We muſt therfore conclude, folowing the counſel of pope *Gregory*, that it was very conuenient to leave vnto the Indians, that which they haue had vſually of cuſtom, ſo as they be not mingled nor corrupt with their antient errors, & that their feaſts and paſtimes may be to the honor of God and of the Saints, whoſe feaſts they celebrate. This may ſuffice in generall of the maners and politike cuſtomes of the Mexicaines. And as for their beginning, increaſe, and Empire, for that it is an ample matter, and will be pleaſant to vnderſtand from the beginning, we will intreate thereof in the Booke following.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOOKE of the Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies.

That it is profitable to vnderstand the actes and geasts of the Indians, especially of the Mexicaines.

CHAP. I.

EVery Historie wel written is profitable to the reader: For as the Wise man saith, *That which hath bin, is, and that which shall be, is that which hath beene:* Humane things have much resemblance in themselves, and some growe wise by that which happneth to others. *Eccles. 1.*

There is no Nation, how barbarous soever, that have not something in them, good, and woorthy of commendation; nor Commonweale so well ordered, that hath not something blame-worthy, and to be controlled.

led. If therefore there were no other fruite in the Hiſtorie and Narration of the deedes and geſts of the Indians, but this common vtilitie, to be a Relation or Hiſtorie of things, the which in the effect of truth have happened, it deſerveth to be received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to be reiected, for that it concernes the Indians. As we ſee that thoſe Authors that treate of naturall things, write not onely of generous beaſts, notable and rare plants, and of pretious ſtones, but alſo of wilde beaſts, common hearbs, and baſe and vulgar ſtones, for that there is alwayes in them ſome properties worthy obſervation. If therefore there were nothing elſe in this Diſcourſe, but that it is a Hiſtorie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no vnwoorthy ſubiect to be written, or read. There is yet an other more particular reaſon, which is, that wee ought heerein to eſteeme that which is woorthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little eſteemed, and alſo a ſubiect different from that of our *Europe*, as theſe Nations be, wherein wee ſhould take moſt pleaſure and content, to vnderſtand the ground of their beginning, their maner of life, with their happy and vnhappy adventures. And this ſubiect is not onely pleaſant and agreeable, but alſo profitable, eſpecially to ſuch as have the charge to rule and governe them; for the knowledge of their acts invites vs to give credite, and dooth partely teach howe they ought to be intreated: yea it takes away much of that common and fooliſh contempt wherein they of *Europe* holde them, ſuppoſing that thoſe Nations have no feeling of reaſon. For in trueth wee can not cleere this errour better, than by the true report of the actes and deedes of this people. I will therefore as briefely as I can, intreate of the beginning, proceedings and notable

notable deedes of the Mexicaines, whereby wee may know the time and the disposition that the high God woulde choose, to send vnto these Nations the light of the Gospel of Iesus Christ his only sonne our Lord, whome I beseech to second our small labour, that it may be to the glory of his Divine greatnes, and some profite to these people, to whome hee hath imparted the lawe of his holy gospel.

Of the antient Inhabitants of New Spaine, *and how the* Navatlacas *came thither.* CHAP. 2.

THe antient and first Inhabitants of those provinces, which wee call New *Spaine*, were men very barbarous and savage, which lived onely by hunting, for this reason they were called *Chichimecas*. They did neither sowe nor till the ground, neither lived they together; for all their exercise was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They lived in the roughest partes of the mountaines beastlike, without any pollicie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde beasts, hares, connies, weezles, mowles, wilde cattes, and birdes, yea vncleane beasts, as snakes, lizards, locusts and wormes, whereon they fed, with some hearbs and rootes. They slept in the mountaines, in caves and in bushes, and the wives likewise went a hunting with their husbandes, leaving their yoong children in a little panier of reeds, tied to the boughs of a tree, which desired not to suck vntill they were returned from hunting. They had no superiors, nor did acknowledge or worship any gods, neyther hadde any manner of ceremonies or religion.

There is yet to this day in New *Spaine* of this kinde of people, which live by their bowes and arrowes, the

which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troupes to doe mischiefe, and to robbe: neither can the Spaniards by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for having no townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after savage beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the mountaines. Such is their maner of living even to this day, in many Provinces of the *Indies*. In the Bookes *De procuranda Indiorum salute*, they discourse chiefly of this sort of Indians, where it is saide that they are to be constrained and subiected by some honest force, and that it is necessary first to teach them, that they are men, and then to be Christians. Some will say, that those in New *Spaine*, which they call *Ottomies*, were of this sort, being commonly poore Indians, inhabiting a rough and barren land, and yet they are in good numbers, and live together with some order, and such as do know them, find them no lesse apt and capable of matters of christian religion, than others which are held to be more rich and better governed. Comming therefore to our subiect, the *Chichimecas* and *Ottomies* which were the first inhabitants of New *Spaine*, for that they did neyther till nor sowe the land, they left the best and most fertile of the country vnpeopled, which, Nations that came from farre did possesse, whome they called *Nauatalcas*, for that it was a more civill and politike Nation; this word signifies a people that speakes well, in respect of other barbarous nations without reason. These second peoplers *Nauatalcas*, came from other farre countries, which lie toward the north, where now they have discovered a kingdome they call New *Mexico*.

There

There are two provinces in this countrey, the one called *Aztlan*, which is to say a place of Herons: the other *Tuculhuacan*, which signifies a land of such, whose grandfathers were divine. The Inhabitants of these provinces have their houses, their lands tilled, gods, customes, and ceremonies, with like order and government to the *Navatalcas*, and are divided into seaven Tribes or Nations: and for that they have a custome in this province, that every one of these linages hath his place and private territory. The *Navatalcas* paint their beginning and first territory in figure of a cave, and say that they came forth of seaven caves to come and people the land of *Mexico*, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seaven caves and men comming forth of them. By the supputation of their bookes, it is above eight hundred yeeres since these *Navatalcas* came foorth of their country, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. when they left their country to come to *Mexico*, they stayed foure score yeares vpon the way; and the cause of this their long stay in their voyage, was, that their gods (which without doubt were divells, and spake visibly vnto them) had perswaded them to seeke new lands that had certaine signes. And therfore they came discovering the whole land, to search for these tokens which their Idolls had given them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the land, and as they discovered better countries, they left those which they had first peopled; leaving still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the weary; yea they did plant and build there, whereof we see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeares in this manner of

ad 720

leisurely travell, the which they might have done in a moneth. By this meanes they entred the land of *Mexico*, in the yeare nine hundred and two, after our computation.

How the six Linages of Navatlacas *peopled the land of* Mexico. Chap. 3.

THese seaven Linages I have spoken of, came not forth all togeither: the first were the *Suchimilcos*, which signifie a Nation of the seedes of flowers. Those peopled the bankes of the great lake of *Mexico* towards the South, aud did build a cittie of their name, and many villages. Long time after came they of the second linage called *Chalcas*, which signifies people of mouthes, who also built a cittie of their name, dividing their limmits and territories with the *Suchimilcos*. The third were the *Tepanecans*, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite vpon the banke of the lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Province, *Azcapuzalco*; which is to say, an Ants nest, and they continued long time mighty. After them came those that peopled *Tescuco*; which be those of *Culhua*, which is to say, a crooked people: for that in their Countrey there was a mountaine much bending. And in this sort this lake was invironed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the *Tepanecas* on the North. These of *Tescuco*, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronountiation is very sweete and pleasant. Then arrived the *Tlalluicans*, which signifies men of the *Sierre* or mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the plaines

plaines about the lake possessed even vnto the *Sierre*, they passed to the other side of the mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spatious & warme countrey, where they built many great villages, calling the Metropolitane of their province *Quahunachua*, which is as much to say, as a place that sounds the voice of an Egle, which our common people call by corruption, *Quernavaca*, and at this day they call this province, the *Marquisate*. Those of the sixt generation, which are the *Tlascaltecans*, which is to say, men of bread, passed the mountaine towards the east, crossing all the *Sierre*, or mountaine of *Menade*, where that famous *Vulcan* is betwixt *Mexico* and the citty of Angells, where they did finde a good country, making many buildings. They built many townes and citties, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name *Tlascala*. This is the nation which favoured the Spaniards at their entrie, by whose help they did winne this country, and therefore to this day they pay no tribute, but enioy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these countries, the *Chinchimecans* being the antient inhabitants, made no resistance, but fledde, and as people amazed, they hid themselves in the most obscure of the rockes. But those that inhabited on th'other side of the mountaine where the *Tlascaltecans* had planted themselves, did not suffer them in quiet, as the rest of the *Chichimecans* had done, but they put themselves in defence to preserve their country, and being giants as the Histories report, they sought to expell the last commers, but they were vanquisht by the policy of the *Tlascaltecans*, who counterfetting a peace with them, they invited them to a great banquet, and when they were busiest in their drunkennes, there were some laide in ambush,

6 Tlascaltecans

who secretly stole away their weapons, which were great clubbes, targets, swords of wood, and other such armes. Then did they sodainely set vpon them, and the *Chichimecas* seeking to defend themselves, they did want their armes, so as they fled to the mountaines and forrests adioyning, where they pulled downe trees, as if they had beene stalkes of lettices. But in the end, the *Tluscaltecans* being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the giants, not leaving one alive. We must not holde this of the giants to be strange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bignes.

When I was in *Mexico*, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1586 one thousand five hundred eighty sixe, they found one of those giants buried in one of our farmes, which we call *Iesus du Mont*, of whom they brought a tooth to be seene, which (without augmenting) was as big as the fist of a man, and according to this, all the rest was proportionable, which I saw and admired at his deformed greatnes. The *Tlascaltecans* by this victory remained peaceable, and so did the rest of the linages. These six linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and dividing their limites quietly: then they studied with an emulation to encrease and beautifie their common-weale. The barbarous *Chichimecans*, seeing what passed, beganne to vse some governement, and to apparrell themselves, being ashamed of what had passed: for till then they had no shame. And having abandoned feare by their communication with these other people, they beganne to learne many things of them, building small cottages, having some pollicie and governement. They did also choose Lordes, whom they did acknowledge for their superiors,

superiours, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this brutish life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines divided from the rest.

Notwithstanding I hold it for certaine, that this feare hath growne from other Nations and Provinces of the *Indies*, who at the first were savage men, who living onely by hunting, piercing the rockie and rough countries, discovering a new world, the inhabitants whereof were almost like savage beasts, without coverings or houses, without tilled landes, without cattell, without King, Law, God, or Reason. Since, others seeking better and new lands, inhabited this fertile Countrey, planting pollitike order, and a kinde of common-weale, although it were very barbarous. After the same men, or other Nations, that had more vnderstanding then the rest, laboured to subdue and oppresse the lesse mighty, establishing Realmes and great Empires. So it happened in *Mexico*, at *Peru*, and in some partes where they finde Citties and Common-weales planted among these Barbarians. That which confirmes me in my opinion, (whereof I have amply discoursed in the first booke,) that the first inhabitants of the West *Indies* came by land, and so by consequence, that the first continent of the *Indies*, ioynes with that of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Affrike*, and the new world with the old, although they have not yet discovered any countrey that toucheth and ioynes with the other world; or if there be any sea betwixt the two, it is so narrow, that wilde beasts may easily swim over, and men in small boates. But leaving this Philosophie, let vs returne to our history.

of

Of the Mexicaines departure, of their iourney and peopling the Province of Mechovacan.

Chap. 4.

THree hundred and two yeares after the former two linages had left their Country, to inhabite new *Spaine*, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to some forme of government. Those of the seaventh cave or line arrived, which is the *Mexicaine* Nation, the which like vnto the rest, left the Province of *Aztlan*, and *Teuculhuacan*, a pollitike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worship the idoll *Vitzliputzli*, whereof ample mention hath beene made, and the divell that was in this idoll spake, and governed this Nation easily. This idoll commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Princes and Lords over all the Provinces which the other six Nations did possesse, that hee would give them a land abounding with gold, silver, pretious stones, feathers, and rich mantells: wherevpon they went forth, carrying their idoll with them in a coffer of reedes, supported by foure of their principall priests, with whom he did talke and reveale vnto them in secret, the successe of their way and voyage, advising them of what should happen. He likewise gave them lawes, and taught them the customes, ceremonies, and sacrifices they should observe. They did not advance nor moove without commandement from this idoll. He gave them notice when to march, and when to stay in any place, wherein they wholy obeyed him. The first thing they did wheresoever they came, was to build a house or tabernacle for their false god, which they set alwaies in the middest

middeſt of their Campe, and there placed the Arke vpon an altare, in the ſame manner as they have vſed in the holy Chriſtian Church. This done, they ſowed their land for bread and pulſes, which they vſed: and they were ſo addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raiſe their campe, all was left there for the nouriſhment of the aged, ſicke, and wearie, which they left purpoſely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the land ſhould remaine inhabited by their Nation. This going forth and peregrination of the *Mexicaines*, will happily ſeeme like to that of *Egypt*, and to the way which the children of *Iſraell* made, ſeeing that they, as well as thoſe, were warned to go forth, and to ſeeke the land of promiſe, and both the one, and the other, carried their god for their guide, conſulted with the arke, and made him a tabernacle, and he adviſed them, giving them lawes and ceremonies, and both the one, and the other, ſpake many yeares in their voyage to their promiſed land, where we obſerve the reſemblance of many other things, as the hiſtories of the *Mexicaines* do report, and the holy ſcripture teſtifie of the Iſraelites. And without doubt it is a true thing, that the Divell the prince of pride, hath laboured by the ſuperſtitions of this Nation, to counterfaite & imitate that which the moſt high God did with this Nation: for as is ſaid before, Satan hath a ſtrange deſire to compare and make himſelfe equal with God: ſo as this mortall enemy hath pretended falſely to vſurpe what communication and familiaritie he hath pleaſed with men. Was there ever divell found ſo familiarly converſant with men, as this divell *Vitzliputzli*? We may wel iudge what

what he was, for that there was never seene nor heard speake of customes more superstitious, nor sacrifices more cruel and inhumane, then those which he taught them. To conclude, they were invented by the enemy of mankinde. The chiefe and Captaine whome they followed, was called *Mexi*, whence came the name of *Mexico*, & of the *Mexicaine* Nation. This people marching thus at leisure, as the other six Nations had done, peopling and tilling the land in divers partes, whereof there is yet some shewes & ruines: & after they had endured many travells and dangers, in the end they came to the Province of *Mechovacan*, which is as much to say, as a land of fish, for there is great abundance in goodly great lakes, where contenting themselves with the situation and temperature of the ground, they resolved to stay there. Yet having consulted with their idoll vpon this point, and finding him vnwilling, they demanded license to leave some of their men to people so good a land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to do it, which was, that when the men and women should be entred into a goodly lake called *Pascuaro*, to bathe themselves, those which remained on land, should steale away all their clothes, and then secretly raise their campe, and depart without any bruite, the which was effected, and the rest which dreamt not of this deceit, (for the pleasure they tooke in bathing,) comming forth and finding themselves spoiled of their garments, and thus mocked and left by their companions, they remained discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceived against them, they say that they changed their maner of life and their language. At the least it is most certaine, that the *Mechovacans* have been alwaies

alwaies enemies to the *Mexicaines*, and therefore they came to congratulate the Marquise *De Valle*, after his victory obtained when he had conquered *Mexico*.

Of that which happened in Malinalco, Tula, *and in* Chapultepec. CHAP. 5.

FRom *Mechovacan* to *Mexico*, are above fifty leagues, and vpon the way is *Malinalco*, where it happened, that complaining to their idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their sister to their god, for that with her wicked artes she did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to be worshipped of them as their goddesse: the idoll spake in a dreame to one of those old men that carried the arke, commaunding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promises, and that they should leave this his sister with her family, being cruell and bad, raising their campe at mid-night in great silence, leaving no shew what way they passed. So they did, and the witch remaining alone with her family, in this sort peopled a towne which they call *Malinalco*, the inhabitants whereof, are held for great sorcerers, being issued from such a mother. The *Mexicaines* for that they were greatly diminished by these divisions, and by the number of sicke & wearied persons, which they had left behind, meant to repaire themselves, and to stay in a place called *Tula*, which signifies a place of reedes. There their idoll commanded them to stoppe a great river, that it might cover a great plaine, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inviron a little hill called *Coatepec*, making a great lake, the which they did plant round about with willowes,

Coatepek hill

willows, elmes, ſapines and other trees. There beganne to breede much fiſh, and many birdes came thither: ſo as it became a very pleaſant place. The ſcituation of this place, ſeeming pleaſant vnto them, and being wearied with travell, many talked of peopling there, and to paſſe no farther: wherewith the divell was much diſpleaſed, threatning the prieſts with death, commanding them to returne the river to hir courſe, ſaying that he would that night chaſtiſe thoſe which had beene diſobedient as they had deſerved. And as to do ill is proper to the Divell, and that the divine Iuſtice doth often ſuffer ſuch to be delivered into the hands of ſuch a tormentor, that chooſe him for their god; It chanced that about mid-night they heard a great noiſe in one part of the campe, and in the morning going thither, they found thoſe dead that had talked of ſtaying there. The maner of their death, was, that their ſtomackes were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught theſe poore miſerable creatures, the kindes of ſacrifices that pleaſed him, which was, in opening the ſtomacke, to pull out the heart, as they have ſince practiſed in their horrible ſacrifices. Seeing this puniſhment, and that the plaine was dried, the lake being emptied, they asked counſell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to paſſe on, the which they did by little and little, vntill they came to *Chapultepec*, a league from *Mexico*, famous for the pleaſantnes thereof. They did fortifie themſelves in theſe mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were oppoſite vnto them, eſpecially for that one named *Copill*, ſonne to this ſorcereſſe, left in *Malinalco*, had blamed and ſpoken ill of the *Mexicaines*: for this *Copill* by the commande-

ment

ment of his mother, awhile after followed the *Mexicaines* course, labouring to incense the *Tapanecas*, and other neighbours against them, even vnto the *Chalcas*: so as they came with a strong army to destroy the *Mexicaines*. *Copill* in the meane space stoode vpon a little hill in the middest of a lake called *Acopilco*, attending the destruction of his enemies, and they by the advise of their idoll, went against him, tooke him suddenly, and slew him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to cast it into the lake, saining that thereof did grow a plant called *Tunal*, where since *Mexico* was built. They came to fight with the *Chalcas*, and other Nations, having chosen for their Captaine, a valiant man called *Vitzilonilti*, who in an incounter, was taken and slaine by the enemies. But for all this, they were not discouraged, but fought valiantly, and in dispight of their enemies they brake the squadrons, and carrying their aged, their women, and yong children in the midst of their battaile: they passed on to *Atlacuyavaya*, a towne of the *Culhuas*, whom they found solemnising of a feast, in which place they fortified. The *Chalcas* nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieved to be defeated by so small a number of men; they being in so great multitudes, retyred to their townes.

Of the Warres the Mexicaines had against them of Culhuacan. Chap. 6.

THe Mexicaines by the advise of their idoll, sent their messengers to the Lord of *Culhuacan*, to demand a place to dwell in, who after he had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of *Ticapan*, which

which signifies white waters, to the end they should all perish there, being full of vipers, snakes, and other venomous beasts which bred in a hill neere adioyning. But being perswaded and taught by their divell, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their diveliſh art, tamed theſe beaſtes, ſo as they did them no harme; yea, they vſed them as meat, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of *Culhuacan* ſeeing, & that they had tilled and ſowed the land, he reſolved to receive them into the Cittie, and to contract amity with them. But the god whom the *Mexicaines* did worſhip, (as he is accuſtomed to do no good, but ill,) ſaid vnto his prieſts, that this was not the place where he would have them ſtay, and that they muſt go forth making warres. Therefore they muſt ſeeke forth a woman, and name her the goddeſſe of Diſcord. Wherevpon they reſolved to ſend to the King of *Culhuacan*, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the *Mexicaines*, and mother to their god, who received this Ambaſſage willingly, ſending his daughter preſently gorgeouſly attyred and well accompanied. The ſame night ſhe arrived, by order of the murtherer whome they worſhipped, they killed her cruelly, and having ſleaed her artificially as they could do, they did clothe a yong man with her skinne, and therevpon her apparrell, placing him neere their idoll, dedicating him for a goddeſſe and the mother of their god, and ever after did worſhip it, making an idoll which they called *Toccy*, which is to ſay, our grandmother. Not content with this crueltie, they did malicioufly invite the King of *Culhuacan*, the father of the yong maid, to come and worſhippe his daughter, who was now conſecrated a goddeſſe, who comming with great preſents, and well

accom-

accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke chappell where their idoll was, that he might offer sacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the incense that was vpon the harth, according to their custome, kindled in such sort, as hee might discerne his daughters haire, and having by this meanes discovered the crueltie and deceit, hee went forth crying alowde, and with all his men he fell vpon the *Mexicaines*, forcing them to retyre to the lake, so as they were almost drowned. The *Mexicaines* defended themselves, casting certaine little darts, which they vsed in the warres, wherewith they much galled their ennemies. But in the end they got land, and leaving that place, they coasted along the lake, very weary and wet; the women and little children crying and making great exclamations against them and their god that had brought them into this distresse. They were inforced to passe a river that could not be waded through, and therefore they advised to make small boates of their targets and of reedes, wherein they passed. Then afterwardes, having left *Culhuacan*, they arived at *Iztacalco*, and finally to the place where the hermitage of Saint *Anthonie* now is, at the entry of *Mexico*, and to that quarter which they now call S. *Paul*. During which time their idoll did comfort them in their travells and incoraged them, promising great matters.

Of the Foundation of Mexico.
Chap. 7.

THe time being now come, that the father of lies should accomplish his promise made to his people, who could no longer suffer so many turnings, travells,

vells, and dangers, it happened that some old priests or sorcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which seemed to be silver, and looking about, they found the trees, medowes, fish, and all that they beheld to be very white: wondring heereat, they remembred a prophecie of their god, whereby he had given them that for a token of their place of rest, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for ioy, they returned to the people with these good newes. The night following, *VitZliputZli* appeared in a dreame to an antient priest, saying, that they should seeke out a *Tunal* in the lake, which grew out of a stone, (which as he told them, was the same place where by his commandement they had cast the heart of *Copil*, sonne to the sorceresse their enemy,) and vpon this *Tunal* they should see a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine small birdes. When they should see this, they should beleeve it was the place where their Cittie should be built, the which shuld surmount al others, & be famous throughout the world. Morning being come, the old man assembled the whole people, from the greatest to the least, making a long speach vnto them, how much they were bound vnto their god, and of the Revelation, which (although vnworthy,) hee had received that night, concluding that all must seeke out that happie place which was promised them; which bred such devotion and ioy in them all, that presently they vndertooke the enterprise, and dividing themselves into bandes, they beganne to search, following the signes of the revelation of the desired place. Amiddest the thickest of these water-lillies in the lake, they met with the same course of water they had seene the day before,

fore, but much differing, being not white, but red, like blood, the which divided it selfe into two streames, whereof the one was of a very obscure azure, the which bred admiration in them, noting some great mistery as they said. After much search heere and there, the *Tunal* appeared growing on a stone, whereon was a royall Eagle, with the wings displaied towardes the Sunne; receiving his heat. About this Eagle were many rich fethers, white, red, yellow, blew, and greene, of the same sort as they make their images, which Eage held in his tallants a goodly birde. Those which sawe it and knew it to be the place fore-tolde by the Oracle, fel on their knees, doing great worship to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on every side. Then was their great cries, demonstrations, and thankes vnto the Creator, and to their great god *Vitzliputzli*, who was there father, and had alwaies told them truth. For this reason they called the cittie which they founded there, *Tenoxtiltan*, which signifies *Tunal* on a stone, and to this day they carry in their armes, an Eagle vpon a *Tunal*, with a bird in his tallant, and standing with the other vpon the *Tunal*. The day following, by common consent they made an hermitage adioyning to the *Tunal* of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might rest there, till they might have meanes to build him a sumptuous Temple: and so they made this hermitage of flagges & turfes covered with straw; then having consulted with their god, they resolved to buy of their neighbours, stone, timber, lime, in exchange of fish, frogges, and yong kids, and for duckes, water-hennes, courlieus, and divers other kindes of sea fowles. All which things they did fish and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great aboundance. They went with

these things to the markets of the Townes and Citties of the *Tapanecans*, and of them of *Tescuco* their neighbours, and with pollicie they gathered together by little and little, what was necessary for the building of their Cittie: so as they built a better Chappell for their idoll of lime and stone, and laboured to fill vp a great part of the lake with rubbish. This done, the idoll spake one night to one of his priests in these tearmes, *Say vnto the* Mexicaines, *that the Noblemen divide themselves everie one with their kinsfolkes and friends, and that they divide themselves into foure principall quarters, about the house which you have built for my rest, and let every quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure.* The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of *Mexico*, which are called at this day S. *Iean*, S. *Mary* the round, S. *Paul*, and S. *Sebastian*. After this, the *Mexicaines* being thus divided into these foure quarters, their god commanded them to divide amongest them the gods he should name to them, and that they should give notice to every quarter, principal of the other foure particall quarters, where their gods should be worshipped. So as vnder every one of these foure principall quarters, there were many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the idolls which their god commanded them to worship, which they called *Calpulteico*, which is as much to say, as god of the quarters. In this manner the Cittie of *Mexico Tenoxtitlan* was founded, and grew great.

Of the sedition of those of Tlatelulco, *and of the first Kings the Mexicaines did choose.* Chap. 8.

THis division being made as afore-said, some olde men and Antients held opinion, that in the division,

sion, they had not respected them as they deserved: for this cause, they and their kinsfolke, did mutine, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went thorough the lake, they found a small peece of ground or terrasse, which they call *Tloteloli*, where they inhabited, calling it *Tlatellulco*, which signifies place of a terrasse. This was the third division of the Mexicaines, since they left their Country. That of *Mechovacan* being the first, and that of *Malinalco* the second. Those which seperated themselves and went to *Tlatellulco*, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the Mexicaines their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwaies quarrells against them, and to this day continues their hatred and olde leagues. They of *Tenoxtiltan*, seeing them of *Tlatellulco* thus opposite vnto them, and that they multiplied, feared that in time they might surmount them: heerevpon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choose a King, whome they should obey, and strike terror into their enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more vnited and stronger among themselves, and their enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolved to choose a King, they tooke another advise very profitable and assured, to choose none among themselves, for the avoyding of diffentions, and to gaine (by their new King) some other neighbour nations, by whom they were invironed, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of *Culhuacan*, whom they had greatly offended, having slaine and flead the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to have a King of the Mexicaine blood, of which generation there were many

in *Culhuacan*, which continued there since the time they lived in peace amongst them; they resolved to choose for their King, a yong man called *Acamapixtli*, sonne to a great Mexicaine Prince, and of a Ladie, daughter to the King of *Culhuacan*. Presently they sent Ambassadors with a great present to demand this man, who delivered their Ambassage in these tearmes, *Great Lord, we your vassalls and servants, placed and shut vp in the weedes and reedes of the Lake, alone and abandoned of all the Nations of the world, led onely and guided by our god to the place where we are, which falles in the iurisdiction of your limits of* Ascapusalco, *and of* Tescuco. *Although you have suffered vs to live and remaine there, yet will we not, neither is it reason to live without a head and lord to command, correct, and governe vs, instructing vs in the course of our life, and defending vs from our enemies: Therefore we come to you, knowing that in your Court and house, there are children of our generation, linckt and alied with yours, issued from our entrailes, and yours, of our blood and yours, among the which we have knowledge of a grand-child of yours and ours, called* Acamapixtli. *We beseech you therefore, to give him vs for Lord, we will esteeme him as hee deserves, seeing hee is of the linage of the Lords of* Mexico, *and the Kings of* Culhuacan.

The king having consulted vppon this poynt, and finding it nothing inconvenient to be alied to the Mexicaines, who were valiant men, made them answer, that they should take his grandchilde in good time, adding therevnto, that if he had beene a woman, hee woulde not have given her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, *Let my grand-childe go to serve your God, and be his lievetenant, to rule and governe his creatures, by whom we live, who is the*

Lord

Lord of night, day, and windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the water and land, and possesse the Mexicaine Nation, take him in good time, and vse him as my sonne and grand-child. The Mexicaines gave him thanks, all ioyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as he gave him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honour possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall foorth to see the king, whom they led into pallaces which were then but meane; and having seated them in royall throanes, presently one of the Antients and an Orator much esteemed amongest them, did rise vp, speaking in this manner, *My sonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore house and citty, amongest these weedes and mudde, where thy poore fathers, grandfathers, and kinsfolkes, endure what it pleaseth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou commest hither to be the defence and support of the Mexicaine Nation, and to be the resemblance of our God* Vitzliputzli, *whervpon the charge and governement is given thee. Thou knowest we are not in our country, seeing the land we possesse at this day is anothers, neither know we what shall become of vs to morrowe, or another day: Consider therefore that thou commest not to rest or recreate thy selfe, but rather to indure a new charge vnder so heavie a burden: wherein thou must continually labour, being slave to this multitude, which is fallen to thy lotte, and to all this neighbour people, whome thou must strive to gratifie, and give them contentment, seeing thou knowest we live vpon their lands, and within their limites.* And ending, hee repeated these wordes; *Thou art welcome, thou and the Queene our Mistris, to this your realme.* This was the speech of the old man, which with other orations (which the Mexicaine histories do celebrate)

the children did vse to learne by hart, and so they were kept by tradition, some of them deserve well to be reported in their proper termes. The king aunswering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence & aide in all he could. After they gave him the othe, and after their maner set the royall crown vpon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the dukes of *Venice:* the name of *Acamapixtli* their first king signifies a handfull of reeds, and therfore they carry in their armories a hand holding many arrows of reedes.

Of the strange tribute the Mexicaines paied to them of Azcapuzalco. Chap. 9.

THe Mexicaines happened so well in the election of their new king, that in short time they grew to have some form of a common-weale, and to be famous among strangers; wherevpon their neighbours moved with feare, practised to subdue them, especially the *Tapanecans*, who had *Azcapuzalco* for their metropolitane citty, to whome the Mexicaines payed tribute, as strangers dwelling in their land. For the king of *Azcapuzalco* fearing their power which increased, soght to oppresse the Mexicanes, and having consulted with his subiects, he sent to tel king *Acamapixtli*, that the ordinary tribut they payed was too little, and that from thencefoorth they should bring firre trees, sapines, and willowes for the building of the citty, and moreover they shoulde make him a garden in the water planted with diverse kindes of hearbes and pulses, which they should bring vnto him yearely by water, dressed in this maner, without failing; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The Mexicaines

were

were much troubled at this commaundement, holding it impossible: and that this demaund was to no other end, but to seeke occasion to ruine them. But their god *Vitzliputzli* comforted them, appearing that night to an olde man, commaunding him to say to the king his sonne in his name, that hee should make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would help them and make the meanes easie, which after happened: for the time of tribute being come, the Mexicanes carried the trees that were required, and moreover, a garden made and floating in the water, and in it much Mays, (which is their corne) already grained and in the eare: there was also Indian pepper, beetes, *Tomates*, which is a great sappy and savourie graine, french pease, figges, gourds, and many other things, al ripe, and in their season. Such as have not seene the gardines in the lake of *Mexico*, in the middest of the water, will not beleeve it, but will say it is an inchantment of the Divell whom they worship: But in trueth it is a matter to be done, and there hath beene often seene of these gardens floating in the water; for they cast earth vpon reedes and grasse, in such sort as it never wastes in the water; they sowe and plant this ground, so as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remove it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great garden easily, and to have the fruites grow well, is a thing that makes men iudge there was the worke of *Vitziliputzli*, whome otherwise they call *Patillas*, specially having never made nor seene the like. The king of *Azcapuzalco* wondred much when he sawe that accomplished which he held impossible saying vnto his subiects, that this people had a great god that made all easie vnto them, and hee sayd vnto the Mexicaines, that seeing their God gave them

all

all things perfit, hee would the yeare following, at the time of tribute, they shoulde bring in their gardine a wilde ducke, and a heron, sitting on their egges, in such sorte, that they should hatch their yoong ones as they should arrive, without failing of a minute, vpon paine of his indignation. The Mexicans were much troubled and heavy with this prowde and strict commaunde: but their god, as he was accustomed, comforted them in the night, by one of his priests, saying that he would take all that charge vpon him, willing them not to fear, but beleeve that the day would come, whenas the *Azcapuzalcos* should pay with their lives this desire of new tributes. The time being come, as the Mexicans carried all that was demaunded of their gardins, among the reeds and weeds of the gardin, they found a ducke and a heron hatching their egges, and at the same instant when they arived at *Azcapuzalco* their yong ones were discloſed. Whereat the king of *Azcapuzalco* wondring beyond measure, he said againe to his people, that these were more than humane things, and that the Mexicans beganne as if they would make themselves lordes over all those provinces. Yet did he not diminish the order of this tribute, and the Mexicans finding not themselves mighty enough, endured this subiection and slavery the space of fifty yeeres. In this time the king *Acamapixtli* died, having beautified the Citty of *Mexico* with many goodly buildings, streets, conduits of water, and great aboundance of munition. Hee raigned in peace and rest forty yeares, having bin alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the common-weale.

As hee drew neare his end, hee did one memorable thing, that having lawfull children to whom he might leave the succession of the realme, yet would he not do

it,

it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the common-weale, that as they had made a free election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good government, advising them therein to have a care to the good of the common-weale, and seeming grieved that he left them not freed from tribute & subiection, hee died, having recommended his wife and children vnto them, he left all his people sorowfull for his death.

Of the second King, and what happened in his raigne.
Chap. 10.

THe obsequies of the dead king performed, the Antients, the chiefe of the realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Antients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, and that it was needefull to choose for chiefe of their citty, a man that had pity of age, of widows, and orphans, and to be a father of the commonweale: for in very deede they should be the feathers of his wings, the eie-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessarie he were valiant, being needefull shortly to vse their forces, as their god had propheſied. Their resolution in the end was to chuse a sonne of the predecessor, vsing the like good office in accepting his sonne for successor, as hee had done to the common-weale, relying thereon. This young man was called *Vitzilovitli*, which signifieth a rich feather, they set the royall crowne vpon his head, and annointed him, as they have beene accustomed to doe to all their Kings, with an ointment they call Divine, being the same vnction wherewith they did annoynt their Idoll. Presently

ently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme himselfe with courage, and free them from the travells, slavery and misery they suffered, being oppressed by the *Azcapuzalcos:* which done, all did him homage. This king was not married, and his Counsell helde opinion, that it was good to marry him with the daughter of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, to have him a frind by this aliance, and to obtain some diminution of their heavy burthen of tributes impoſed vpon them, and yet they feared leſt he ſhould diſdaine to give them his daughter, by reaſon they were his vaſſalls: yet the king of *Azcapuzalco* yeelded therevnto, having humbly required him, who with curteous wordes gave them his daughter, called *Ayanchigual*, whom they ledde with great pompe and ioy to *Mexico*, and performed the ceremony and ſolemnity of marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans cloke to a part of the womans vaile in ſigne of the band of marriage. This Queene broght foorth a ſonne, of whoſe name they demaunded adviſe of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, and caſting lots as they had accuſtomed (being greatly given to ſoothſayings, eſpecially vpon the names of their children) he would have his grand-childe called *Chimalpopoca*, which ſignifies a target caſting ſmoke. The Queene his daughter ſeeing the contentment the King of *Azcapuzalco* had of his grand-child, tooke occaſion to intreat him to releeve the Mexicaines of the heavy burthen of their tributes, ſeeing he had now a grand-child Mexicaine, the which the King willingly yeelded vnto, by the adviſe of his Counſell, granting (for the tribute which they paid,) to bring yeerely a couple of duckes and ſome fiſh, in ſigne of ſubiection, and that they dwelt in his land. The Mexicaines by this meanes, remained much

much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after: and the yere following likewise *Vitzilovitli* the king of *Mexico* died, leaving his sonne *Chimalpopoca* tenne yeares olde, hee raigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirty yeeres old, or little more. Hee was held for a good king, and carefull in the service of his gods, whose Images hee held kings to be; and that the honour done to their god, was done to the king who was his image. For this cause the kings have beene so affectionate to the service of their gods. This king was carefull to winne the love of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them, whereby hee augmented his citty, exercising his men in warrelike actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

Of Chimalpopoca *the third king, and his cruell death, and the occasion of warre which the Mexicaines made.* Chap. II.

THe Mexicaines for successor to their deceased king did choose his sonne *Chimalpopoca*, by common consent, although he were a child of tenne yeeres old, being of opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the favor of the king of *Azcapuzalco*, making his grandchilde king. They then set him in his throane, giving him the ensignes of warre, with a bowe and arrowes in one hand, and a sword with rasours (which they commonly vse) in the right, signifying thereby (as they do say) that they pretended by armes to set themselves at liberty. The Mexicaines had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddy, and therefore ill to drincke, so as they caused their infant king to

desire

desire of his grandfather the king of *Azcapuzalco*, the water of the mountaine of *Chapultepec*, which is from *Mexico* a league, as is saide before, which they easely obtained, and by their industry made an aqueduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their citty. But because the Cittie was built within the Lake, and the aqueduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not inioy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: wherevpon, whether they did expressly seeke it, to quarrell with the *Tapanecans*, or that they were mooved vppon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute ambassage to the king of *Azcapuzalco*, saying, they could not vse the water which he had gratiously granted them, and therefore they required him to provide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his workmen, that by their meanes they might make a pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the king, and much lesse his subiects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disdaining thereat, said it was too bold, that not content with permission to live in an others land, and to have water given them, but they would have them goe to serve them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitive nation, shut vp in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their land and their lives.

In these termes and choller they left the king, whom they did somwhat suspect, by reason of his grandchild, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolved to make a generall proclamation,

that

that no *Tapanecan* should have any commerce or trafficke with any Mexicaine, that they should not goe to their Cittie, nor receive any into theirs, vpon paine of death. Whereby we may vnderstand that the king did not absolutely commaund over his people, and that he governed more like a Consul, or a Duke, than a King, although since with their power, the commaund of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shal see in the last Kings. For it hath beene an ordinarie thing among the Barbarians, that such as their power hath beene, such hath beene their commaund; yea in our Histories of *Spaine*, we finde in some antient kings that manner of rule which the *Tapanecans* vsed. Such were the first kings of the Romans, but that *Rome* declined from Kings to Consuls, and a Senate, till that after they came to be commaunded by Emperours. But these Barbarians, of temperate Kings became tyrants, of which governements a moderate monarchy is the best and most assured. But returne we now vnto our historie.

The king of *Azcapuzalco* seeing the resolution of his subiects, which was to kil the Mexicans, intreated them first to steale away the yong king his grand-childe, and afterwards do what they pleased to the Mexicans. All in a manner yeelded heerevnto, to give the king contentment, and for pitty they had of the child; but two of the chiefest were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that *Chimalpopoca*, although hee were of their bloud, yet was it but by the mothers side, and that the fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was *Chimalpopoca* king of *Mexico*, protesting so to doe. The king of *Azcapuzalco* was so troubled with this contradiction,

and

and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very griefe he fell sicke, and died. By whose death the *Tapanecans* finishing their consultation, committed a notable treason; for one night the yong King of *Mexico* sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of *Azcapuzalco* entred his pallace, and slew him sodainly, returning vnseene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cried out and filled all their cittie with teares: and transported with choller, they presently fell to armes, with an intent to revenge their Kings death. As they ranne vppe and downe full of fury and disorder, one of their chiefest knightes stept foorth, labouring to appease them, with a grave admonition: *Whither goe you* (saide hee) *O yee Mexicaines, quiet your selves, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided, nor come to good end: suppresse your griefe, considering that although your king be dead, the noble blood of the Mexicaines is not extinct in him. Wee have children of our kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, having a leader to guide your enterprise, go not blindely, surcease, and choose a king first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies: In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the funeralls of your deceased king, whose body you see heere present, for hereafter you shall finde better meanes to take revenge.* By this meanes the Mexicans passed no farther, but stayed to make the obsequies of their King, whereunto they invited the Lords of *Tescuco*, and *Culhuacan*, reporting vnto them this foule and cruell fact, which the *Tapanecans* had committed, moving them to have pitty on them, and incensing them against their ennemies,

mies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee revenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to favour so vniust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of armes or men, but onely to bee lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenance, they would not stoppe nor hinder the comerce, as the *Tapanecans* had done. At these speeches they of *Tescuco* and *Culhuacan* made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offring them their citties, and all the commerce they desired, that they might provide vittaile and munition at their pleasure, both by land & water. After this, the Mexicanes intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King; the which they likewise granted, to give them contentment.

Of the fourth King called Izcoalt, *and of the warre against the Tapanecans.*

Chap. 12.

THe Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose vp, who (as the histories report,) spake in this manner, *The light of your eyes O Mexicaines is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you have lost him that was the light and guide of the Mexicaine Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they have slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with advantage, the want we have of him: the Mexicaine Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the blood royall decaied. Turne your eyes and looke about you, you shall see the Nobilitie of* Mexico *set in order, not one nor two, but many and excellent Princes, sonnes to* Aca-

mapixtli, *our true and lawfull King and Lord. Heere you may choose at your pleasure, saying, I will this man, and not that. If you have lost a father, heere you may finde both father and mother: make account O Mexicaines, that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If* Mexico *hath beene darkened by the death of your King, the Sun will soone shew, in choosing another King. Looke to whom, and vpon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is hee whom your god* Vitzliputzli *hath chosen.* And continuing a while this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men. In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, *Izcoalt* was chosen King, which signifies a snake of rasors, who was sonne to the first King *Acamapixtli*, by a slave of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choyce of him, for that he exceeded the rest in behaviour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and above all, these of *Tescuco*, for their king was married to a sister of *Iscoalts*. After the King had beene crowned and set in his royall seat, another Orator stept vp, discoursing how the king was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in travell, speaking thus, *Behold this day we depend on thee, it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies vpon thy souldiers, and suffer the old man and woman, the orphlin and the widowe to perish. Take pittie of the infants that go creeping in the ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount vs: vnfold then, and stretch forth thy cloake, my Lord, to beare these infants vpon thy shoulders, which be the poore and the common people, who live assured vnder the shadowe of thy wings, and of thy bountie.* Vttering many other words vpon this subiect, the which, (as I have said,) they learne by heart, for the exercise of

their

their children, and after did teach them as a lesson to those that beganne to learne the faculty of Orators. In the meane time, the *Tapanecans* were resolute to destroy the *Mexicaines*, and to this end they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaiming of warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their adversaries to exceede them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to vndertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Cittie and Nation: wherevpon being demaunded what advise were fittest to take, they made answer, that the King of *Azcapuzalco* was very pitifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serve him, drawing them forth those marshes, and that he should give them houses and lands among his subiects, that by this meanes they might depend all vppon one Lord. And for the obtaining heereof, they should carry their god in his litter for an intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force, (having some Nobles that approved their opinion,) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the litter and their god, to performe the voyage. As this was preparing, and every one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subiect themselves to the *Tapanecans*, a gallant yong man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus vnto them, *What meanes this O yee Mexicaines, are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among vs? Shall we go and yeeld our selves thus to the* Azcapuzalcans. Then turning to the King he said, *How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the people, that they may suffer vs to finde out some meanes for our ho-*

nour and defence, and not to yeelde our selves so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies. This yong man was called *Tlacaellec*, nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that ever the Mexicaines had, as you shall see heereafter. *Izcoalt* incouraged by that his nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said vnto them, *You are all heere, my kinsmen, and the best of* Mexico, *hee that hath the courage to carrie a message to the* Tapanecans, *let him rise vp.* They looked one vpon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this yong man *Tlacaellec* rising, offered himselfe to go, saying, that seeing he must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should he so carefully preserve himselfe? he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolved to send him, that he might thereon vnderstand the will and disposition of the King of *Azcapuzalco* and of his people; holding it better to hasten his nephews death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. *Tlacaellec* being ready, tooke his way, and being come to the guards, who had commandement to kill any Mexicaines that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: he perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the king, who wondered to see him, and hearing his ambassage, which was to demand peace of him vnder honest conditions, answered, that hee would impart it to his subiects, willing him to returne the next day for his answer, then *Tlacaellec* demanded a passport, yet could he not obtaine any, but that he should vse his best skill:

with

With this he returned to *Mexico*, giving his words to the guards to returne. And although the King of *Azcapuzalco* desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his subiects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being heard by the messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to give armes, and anointing the King with the vnction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did defie him. Having ended all, the King of *Azcapuzalco* suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with feathers, giving goodly armes in recompence to the messenger, wishing him not to returne by the pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to go out secretly by a little false posterne that was open in one of the courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the guards, and there defied them saying, Tapanecans *and* Azcapuzalcans, *you do your office ill, vnderstand you shall all die, and not one* Tapanecan *shall remaine alive.* In the meane time the guardes fell vpon him, where he behaved him selfe so valiantly, that hee slew some of them: and seeing many more of them come running, hee retyred himselfe gallantly to the Cittie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the *Tapanecans*, and that hee had defied their King.

Of the battell the Mexicaines gave to the Tapanecans, *and of the victorie they obtained.*

Chap. 13.

THe defie being knowne to the Commons of *Mexico*, they came to the king, according to their accu-

ſtomed cowardiſe, demaunding leave to departe the Citty, holding their raigne certaine. The king didde comfort and incourage them, promiſing to give them libertie if they vanquiſhed their enemies, willing them not to feare. The people replied. *And if we be vanquiſhed, what ſhall we doe? If we be overcome* (aunſwered the king) *we will be bound preſently to yeeld our ſelves into your hands to ſuffer death, eate our fleſh in your diſhes and be revenged of vs. It ſhall be ſo then* (ſaide they) *if you looſe the victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we do preſently offer our ſelves to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houſes, to ſowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when you goe to the warres for ever, wee and our deſcendants after vs.* Theſe accordes made betwixt the people and the nobilitie (which they did after fully performe, eyther willingly, or by conſtraint, as they had promiſed) the king namd for his captain generall *Tlacaellec*, the whole campe was put in order, and into ſquadrons, giving the places of captaines to the moſt valiant of his kinsfolkes and friends: then did hee make them a goodly ſpeech, whereby he did greatly incorage them, being now wel prepared, charging all men to obey the commaundement of the Generall whome he had appoynted: he divided his men into two partes, commanding the moſt valiant and hardie, to give the firſt charge with him, & that all the reſt ſhould remaine with the king *Izcoalt*, vntil they ſhould ſee the firſt aſſaile their enemies. Marching then in order, they were diſcovered by them of *Azcapuzalco*, who preſently came furiouſly foorth the citty, carrying great riches of gold, ſilver, and armes of great value, as thoſe which had the empire of all that country. *Izcoalt* gave the ſignall to battaile, with a little drumme he carried on his ſhoulders, and preſently

they

they raised a general showt, crying, *Mexico, Mexico*, they charged the Tapanecans, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeate them, and force them to retire into their Cittie; then advaunced they which remained behinde, crying, *Tlacaellec*, victorie, victorie, all sodainely entred the Citty, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not olde men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoyled the Citty being very rich. And not content heerewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggy rocks of the *Sierres* or neere mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The *Tapanecans* being retired to a mountaine cast downe their armes, demaunding their lives, and offering to serve the Mexicans, to give them lands and gardins, stone, lime and timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lordes. Vpon this condition *Tlacaellec* retired his men and ceased the battell, graunting them their lives vpon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to *Azcapuzalco*, and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the cittie of *Mexico*. The day following the king assembled the nobilitie and the people, to whom he laid open the accord the Commons had made, demaunding of them, if they were content to persist therin: the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserved it, and therfore they were content to serve them perpetually. Wherevpon they tooke an othe, which since they have kept without contradiction.

This done *Izcoalt* returned to *Azcapuzalco*, (by the advise of his counsell) he divided all the lands & goods of the conquered among the conquerours, the chiefest

part fell to the King, then to *Tlacaellec*, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserved in the battell. They also gave land to some plebeians, having behaved themselves valiantly; to others they distributed the pillage, making small account of them as of cowardes. They appointed lands in common for the quarters of *Mexico*, to every one his part, for the service and sacrifices of their gods. This was the order which after they alwayes kept, in the division of the lands and spoyles of those they had vanquished and subdewed. By this meanes they of *Azcapuzalco* remained so poore, as they had no lands left them to labor, and (which was worse) they tooke their king from them, & all power to chuse any other then him of *Mexico*.

Of the warre and victory the Mexicans had against the Cittie of Cuyoacan. Chap. 14.

Although the chiefe Cittie of the *Tapanecans*, was that of *Azcapuzalco*, yet had they others with their private Lordes, as *Tucuba* and *Cuyoacan*. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of *Azcapuzalco* had renewed the warre against the Mexicans, and seeing them danted, as a nation wholy broken and defeated, they of *Cuyoacan* resolved to make warre by themselves; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbor nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the Mexicans. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of *Cuyoacan* beganne to ill intreate the women that went to their markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to the men over whom they had power: for which cause the king of *Mexico* defended, that none of his should goe to *Cuyoacan*, and

that

that they should receive none of them into *Mexico*, the which made them of *Cuyoacan* resolve wholy to warre: but first they would provoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that having invited them to one of their solemne feasts, after they had made them a goodly banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their cittie, reproching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently provoked. Those of *Mexico* say, that for revenge they did vnto them a fowle scorne, laying at the gates of their Cittie of *Cuyoacan* certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were delivered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open warre, and there was a battell fought, wherein they imployed all their forces, in the which *Tlacaellec*, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victory. For having left king *Ixcoalt* in fight with them of *Cuyoacan*, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behind, and forced them to retire into their Citty. But seeing their intent was to flie into a Temple, which was verie strong. He with three other valiant souldiors, pursued them eagerly, and got before them, seising on the temple & firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where hee made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrey, vnto a litle hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons and their armes acrosse, yeelded to the Mexicans, and with many teares craved pardon of their overweening follie, in vsing them like women, offering to bee their

their ſlaves: ſo as in the end the Mexicaines did pardon them. Of this victory the Mexicanes carried away very rich ſpoiles of garments, armes, gold, ſilver, iewells, and rich feathers, with a great number of captives. In this battaile there were three of the principals of *Culhuacan* that came to aide the Mexicaines, to winne honour, the which were remarkable above all. And ſince being knowen to *Tlacaellec*, and having made proofe of their fidelitie, he gave them Mexicaine deviſes, and had them alwayes by his ſide, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to theſe three; for among ſo many captives taken, two third partes were wonne by theſe foure, which was eaſily knowen by a policie they vſed: for taking a captive, they preſently cut off a little of his haire, and gave it to others, ſo as it appeared that thoſe which had their haire cut, amounted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as conquerors, giving them good portions of the ſpoils and lands, as the Mexicans have alwayes vſed to doe, which gave occaſion to thoſe that did fight, to become famous, and to winne reputation by armes.

Of the warre and victorie which the Mexicans had againſt the Suchimilcos. CHAP. 15

THe Nation of the *Tapanecans* being ſubdewed the Mexicaines had occaſion to do the like to the *Suchimilcos*, who (as it hath beene ſaide) were the firſt of the ſeven caves or linages that peopled this land. The *Mexicans* ſought not the occaſion, although they might preſume as conquerors to extend their limits, but the *Suchimilcos*

chimilcos didde moove them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of ſmall iudgement that have no foreſight, who not preventing the miſchefe they imagined, fall into it. The *Suchimilcos* held opinion, that the *Mexicans*, by reaſon of their victories paſt, ſhould attempt to ſubdue them, and conſulted hereon among themſelves. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for ſuperiors, and to applaude their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to give them battel: which *Izcoalt* the king of *Mexico* vnderſtanding, he ſent his General *Tlacaellec* againſt them, with his army: the battell was fought in the ſame field that divides their limites, which two armies were equall in men and armes, but very divers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the *Suchimilcos* charged all together on a heape confuſedly, and *Tlacaellec* divided his men into ſquadrons with a goodly order, ſo as he preſently brake his ennemies, forcing them to retire into their cittie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fiered, and forcing them to flie vnto the mountaines: in the end they brought them to this poynt, that they yeelded with their armes acroſſe. The Generall *Tlacaellec* returning in great triumph, the prieſts went foorth to receive him, with their muſicke of flutes, and giving incenſe. The chiefe Captaines vſed other ceremonies and ſhews of ioy, as they had bin accuſtomed to doe, and the king with all the troupe went to the Temple, to give thanks to their falſe god, for the divell hath alwayes beene very deſirous hereof, to challenge to himſelfe the honor which he deſerves not, ſeeing it is the true God which giveth victories, and maketh them to rule whome he pleaſeth. The day following,

king

king *Izcoalt* went vnto the Citty of *Suchimilco*, causing himselfe to be sworne king of the *Suchimilcos*: and for their comfort he promised to doe them good. In token whereof hee commaunded them to make a great cawsey stretching from *Mexico*, to *Suchimilco*, which is foure leagues, to the end there might bee more commerce and trafficke amongest them. Which the *Suchimilcos* performed, and in shorte time the Mexicaine governement seemed so good vnto them, as they helde themselves happy to have changed their king and commonweale. Some neighbors pricked forward by envy, or feare, to their ruines were not yet made wise by others miseries.

Cuitlavaca was a citty within the lake, which though the name and dwelling be chaunged, continueth yet. They were active to swimme in the lake, and therefore they thought they might much indomage and annoy the Mexicaines by water, which the King vnderstanding, hee resolved to send his army presently to fight against them. But *Tlacaellec* little esteeming this warre, holding it dishonorable to lead an army against them, made offer to conquer them with the children onely: which he performed in this maner: he went vnto the Temple & drew out of the Covent such children as he thought fittest for this action, from tenne to eighteene yeeres of age, who knew how to guide their boates, or canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies. The order they held in this warre, was, that he went to *Cuitlavaca* with his children, where by his pollicy hee presſed the ennemy in such sorte, that hee made them to flie; and as he followed them, the lord of *Cuitlavaca* mette him and yeelded vnto him, himselfe, his Citty, and his people, and by this meanes he stayed the pursuite. The

children

children returned with much spoyle, and many captives for their sacrifices, being solemnely received with a great procession, musike and perfumes, & they went to worshippe their gods, in taking of the earth which they did eate, and drawing blood from the forepart of their legges with the Priests lancets, with other superstitions which they were accustomed to vse in the like solemnities. The children were much honoured and incoraged, and the king imbraced and kissed them, and his kinsmen and alies accompanied them. The bruite of this victorie ranne throughout all the country, how that *Tlacaellec* had subdued the city of *Cuitlavaca* with children: the news and consideration whereof opened the eyes of those of *Tescuco*, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of life: So as the king of *Tescuco* was first of opinion, that they should subiect themselves to the king of *Mexico*, and invite him therevnto with his cittie. Therefore by the advise of his Counsell, they sent Ambassadors good Orators with honorable presents, to offer themselves vnto the Mexicans, as their subiects, desiring peace and amitie, which was gratiously accepted; but by the advise of *Tlacaellec* he vsed a ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was that those of *Tescuco* should come forth armed against the Mexicans, where they should fight, and presently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effusion of bloud on either side. Thus the king of *Mexico* became soveraigne Lord of *Tescuco*, but hee tooke not their king from them, but made him of his privie counsell; so as they have alwayes maintained themselves in this manner vntill the time of *Motecuma* the second, during whose raigne the Spaniards entred. Having subdued the land and citty of *Tescuco*, *Mexico* remai-

remained Lady and Mistris of all the landes and citties about the Lake, where it is built. *Izcoalt* having enioyed this prosperitie, and raigned twelve yeeres, died, leaving the realme which had beene given him, much augmented by the valour and counsell of his nephew *Tlacaellec* (as hath afore beene saide) who held it best to choose an other king then himselfe, as shall heereafter be shewed.

Of the fift King of Mexico, *called Motecuma, the first of that name.* Chap. 16.

FOrasmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, (as hath been said,) and to the King of *Tescuco*, and the King of *Tacuba*, by especiall priviledge: *Tlacaellec* assembled these six personages, as he that had the soveraigne authoritie, and having propounded the matter vnto them, they made choise of *Motecuma*, the first of that name, nephew to the same *Tlacaellec*. His election was very pleasing to them all, by reason whereof, they made most solemne feasts, and more stately then the former. Presently after his election, they conducted him to the Temple with a great traine, where before the divine harth, (as they call it,) where there is continuall fire, they set him in his royall throne, putting vpon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the King drew blood from his eares and legges with a griffons tallents, which was the sacrifice wherein the divell delighted to be honoured. The Priests, Antients, and Captaines, made their orations, all congratulating his election. They were accustomed in their elections to make great feasts and dances, where they wasted many lightes. In this

Kings

Kings time the custome was brought in, that the King should go in person to make warre in some province, and bring captives to solemnize the feast of his coronation, and for the solemne sacrifices of that day. For this cause King *Moteçuma* went into the province of *Chalco*, who had declared themselves his enemies: from whence (having fought valiantly,) he brought a great number of captives, whereof he did make a notable sacrifice the day of his coronation, although at that time he did not subdue all the province of *Chalco*, being a very warlike nation. Many came to this coronation from divers provinces, as well neere as farre off, to see the feast, at the which all commers were very bountifully entertained and clad, especially the poore, to whom they gave new garments. For this cause they brought that day into the Cittie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which consisted in stuffes to make garments of all sorts, in *Cacao*, gold, silver, rich feathers, great burthens of cotten, cucumbers, sundry sortes of pulses, many kindes of sea fish, and of the fresh water, great store of fruites, and venison without number, not reckoning an infinite number of presents, which other kings and Lords sent to the new king. All this tribute marched in order according to the provinces, and before them the stewards and receivers, with divers markes and ensignes, in very goodly order: so as it was one of the goodliest things of the feast, to see the entry of the tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himselfe in the conquest of many provinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, hee still increased more and more, using in all his affaires the counsell and industry of his generall *Tlacaellec*, whom he did alwaies love and esteeme very much, as hee had

good

good reason. The warre wherein hee was most troubled and of greatest difficultie, was that of the province of *Chalco*, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkable, which was, that they of *Chalcas*, had taken a brother of *Motecumaes* in the warres, whome they resolved to choose for their king, asking him very curteously, if he would accept of this charge. He answered (after much importunity, still persisting therein,) that if they meant plainely to choose him for their king, they should plant in the market place, a tree or very high stake, on the toppe whereof, they should make a little scaffold, and meanes to mount vnto it. The *Chalcas* supposing it had beene some ceremony to make himselfe more apparent, presently effected it: then assembling all his Mexicaines about the stake, he went to the toppe with a garland of flowers in his hand, speaking to his men in this maner, *O valiant Mexicaines, these men will choose mee for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I should committe any treason against my countrie, but contrariwise, I wil that you learne by me, that it behoveth vs rather, to indure death, then to ayde our enemies.* Saying these words, he cast himselfe downe, and was broken in a thousand peeces, at which spectacle, the *Chalcas* had so great horror and dispits, that presently they fell vpon the Mexicaines and slew them all with their launces, as men whom they held too prowde and inexorable, saying, they had diveliſh hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two owles making a mornefull cry, which they did interpret as an vnfortunate signe, and a presage of their neere destruction, as it succeeded: for King *Motecuma* went against them in person with all his power, where he vanquished them, and ruined all their

their kingdome: and passing beyond the mountaine *Menade*, hee conquered still even vnto the North sea. Then returning towards the South sea, hee subdued many provinces: so as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counsell of *Tlacaellec*, who in a manner conquered all the Mexicaine nation. Yet hee held an opinion, (the which was confirmed,) that it was not behoovefull to conquer the province of *Tlascalla*, that the Mexicaines might have a fronter enemy, to keepe the youth of *Mexico* in exercise and allarme: and that they might have numbers of captives to sacrifice to their idols, wherein they did waste (as hath beene said,) infinite numbers of men, which should bee taken by force in the warres. The honour must be given to *Motezuma*, or to speake truly, to *Tlacaellec* his Generall, for the good order and policy setled in the realme of *Mexico*, as also for the counsells and goodly enterprises, which they did execute: and likewise for the numbers of Iudges and Magistrates, being as well ordered there, as in any common-weale; yea, were it in the most flourishing of *Europe*. This King did also greatly increase the Kings house, giving it great authoritie, and appointing many and sundry officers, which served him with great pompe and ceremony. Hee was no lesse remarkable touching the devotion and service of his idolls, increasing the number of his Ministers, and instituting new ceremonies, wherevnto hee carried a great respect.

Hee built that great temple dedicated to their god *Vitziliputzli*, whereof is spoken in the other booke. He did sacrifice at the dedication of this temple, a great number of men, taken in sundry victories: finally, inioying his Empire in great prosperitie, hee fell sicke,

and died, having raigned twenty eight yeares, vnlike to his successor *Ticocic*, who did not resemble him, neither in valour, nor in good fortune.

How Tlacaellec *refused to be King, and of the election and deedes of* Ticocic. CHAP. 17.

THE foure Deputies assembled in counsell, with the lords of *Tesuco* & *Tacuba*, where *Tlacaellec* was President in the election, where by all their voices *Tlacaellec* was chosen, as deserving this charge better then any other. Yet he refused it, perswading them by pertinent reasons, that they should choose another, saying, that it was better, and more expedient to have another king, and he to be his instrument and assistant, as hee had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen vpon him, for that he held himselfe no lesse bound for the Common-weale, then if hee were king. It is a rare thing to refuse principalitie and commaund, and to indure the paine and the care, and not to reape the honour. There are few that will yeeld vp the power and authority, which they may hold, were it profitable to the common weale. This Barbarian did herein exceed the wisest amongst the Greekes and Romans, and it may be a lesson to *Alexander* and *Iulius Cæsar*, whereof the one held it little to command the whole world, putting his most deere and faithfull servants to death vpon some small iealosies of rule and empire: and the other declared himselfe enemy to his country, saying, that if it were lawfull to do any thing against law and reason, it was for a kingdome: such is the thirst and desire of commaund. Although this acte of *Tlacaellecs* might well proceede from too great a confidence of him-

himselfe, seeming to him, though he were not king, yet in a maner, that he commanded kings, suffering him to carry certaine markes, as a *Tiara* or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themselves. Yet this act deserves greater commendation, and to be well considered of, in that he held opinion to be better able to serve his Common-weale as a subiect, then being a soveraigne Lord. And as in a comedie he deserves most commendation, that represents the personage that importes most, bee it of a sheepheard or a peasant, and leaves the King or Captaine to him that can performe it: So in good Philosophy, men ought to have a special regard to the common good, and apply themselves to that office and place which they best vnderstand. But this philosophie is farre from that which is practised at this day. But let vs returne to our discourse, and say, that in recompence of his modestie, and for the respect which the Mexicaine Electors bare him, they demanded of *Tlacaellec*, (that seeing hee would not raigne,) whom he thought most fit: Wherevpon hee gave his voice to a sonne of the deceased king, who was then very yong, called *Ticocic*: but they replied that his shoulders were very weake to beare so heavy a burthen. *Tlacaellec* answered, that his were there to helpe him to beare the burthen, as he had done to the deceased: by meanes whereof, they tooke their resolution, and *Ticocic* was chosen, to whom were done all the accustomed ceremonies.

They pierced his nosthrils, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reason, in the Mexicane bookes, this king is noted by his nosthrills pierced. Hee differed much from his father and predecessor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went

to make warre for his coronation, in a province that was rebelled, where he loſt more of his own men then hee tooke captives; yet he returned, ſaying, that hee brought the number of captives required for the ſacrifice of his coronation, and ſo hee was crowned with great ſolemnitie. But the Mexicaines diſcontented to have a king ſo little diſpoſed to warre, practiſed to haſten his death by poiſon. For this cauſe hee continued not above foure yeares in the kingdome: whereby wee ſee that the children do not alwaies follow the blood and valour of their fathers; and the greater the glorie of the predeceſſors hath beene, the more odious is the weakenes and cowardiſe of ſuch that ſucceed them in command, and not in merit. But this loſſe was well repaired by a brother of the deceaſed, who was alſo ſonne to great *Moteçuma*, called *Axayaca*, who was likewiſe choſen by the advice of *Tlacaellec*, wherein hee happened better then before.

Of the death of Tlacaellec, *and the deedes of* Axayaca *the ſeventh King of Mexicaines.*

Chap. 18.

NOw was *Tlacaellec* very old, who by reaſon of his age, he was carried in a chaire vpon mens ſhoulders, to aſſiſt in counſell when buſines required. In the end hee fell ſicke, whenas the king (who was not yet crowned,) did viſit him often, ſheading many teares, ſeeming to looſe in him his father, and the father of his countrie. *Tlacaellec* did moſt affectionately recommend his children vnto him, eſpecially the eldeſt, who had ſhewed himſelfe valiant in the former warres. The king promiſed to have regard vnto him, and the more to comfort the olde man, in his preſence he gave him

the

the charge and ensignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his father; wherewith the olde man remained so well satisfied, as with this content he ended his daies. If hee had not passed to another life, they might have held themselves very happy, seeing that of so poore and small a cittie, wherein hee was borne, he established by his valour and magnanimitie, so great, so rich, and so potent a kingdome. The Mexicans made his funerall as the founder of that Empire, more sumptuous and stately, then they had done to any of their former kings. And presently after *Axayaca*, (to appease the sorrow which all the people of *Mexico* shewed for the death of their captaine,) he resolved to make the voyage necessary for his coronation. Hee therefore led his army with great expedition into the province of *Tequantepec*, two hundred leagues from *Mexico*, where he gave battaile to a mighty army and an infinite number of men assembled together, as well out of that province, as from their neighbours, to oppose themselves against the Mexicans. The first of his Campe that advanced himselfe, to the combate, was the King himselfe, defying his ennemies, from whome hee made shewe to fly when they charged him, vntill he had drawne them into an ambuscadoe, where many souldiers lay hidden vnder straw, who suddenly issued forth, and they which fled, turned head: so as they of *Tiquantepec* remained in the midst of them, whom they charged furiously, making a great slaughter of them: and following their victory, they razed their citty and temple, punishing all their neighbours rigorously. Then went they on farther, and without any stay, conquered to *Guatulco*, the which is a port at this day well knowne in the South sea. *Axayaca* re-

turned to *Mexico* with great and rich spoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with sumptuous and stately preparation of sacrifices, tributes, and other things, whither many came to see his coronation. The Kings of *Mexico* received the crowne from the hands of the King of *Tescuco*, who had the preheminence. He made many other enterprises, where he obtained great victories, being alwaies the first to leade the army, and to charge the enemy; by the which hee purchased the name of a most valiant captaine: & not content to subdue strangers, he also suppressed his subiects which had rebelled, which never any of his predecessours ever could doe, or durst attempt. We have already shewed how some seditious of *Mexico* had divided themselves from that common-weale, and built a cittie neare vnto them, which they called *Tlatelulco*, whereas now saint *Iaques* is.

These being revolted, held a faction aparte, and encreased and multiplied much, refusing to acknowledge the kings of *Mexico*, nor to yeeld them obedience. The king *Axayaca* sent to advise them, not to live divided, but being of one bloud, and one people, to ioyne together, and acknowledge the king of *Mexico*: whereupon the Lorde of *Tlatelulco* made an aunswere full of pride and disdaine, defieng the king of *Mexico* to single combate with himselfe: and presently mustred his men, commaunding some of them to hide themselves inthe weeds of the Lake; and the better to deceive the Mexicans, he commaunded them to take the shapes of ravens, geese, and other beasts, as frogs, and such like, supposing by this meanes to surprise the Mexicans as they should passe by the waies and cawsies of the Lake. Having knowledge of this defie, and of his adversaries

policie,

policie, he divided his army, giving a part to his generall, the sonne of *Tlacaellec*, commaunding him to charge this ambuscadoe, in the Lake; and he with the rest of his people, by an vnfrequented way, went and incamped before *Tlatelulco*. Presently hee called him who had defied him, to performe his promise, and as the two Lordes of *Mexico*, and *Tlatelulco* advaunced, they commaunded their subiects not to moove, vntill they had seene who should be conquerour, which was done, and presently the two Lordes incountered valiantly, where having fought long, in the end the Lorde of *Tlatelulco* was forced to turne his backe, being vnable to indure the furious charge of the king of *Mexico*. Those of *Tlatelulco* seeing their captaine flie, fainted, & fled likewise, but the Mexicans following them at the heeles, charged them furiously; yet the Lord of *Tlatelulco* escaped not the hands of *Axayaca*, for thinking to save himselfe, he fled to the toppe of the Temple, but *Axayaca* folowed him so neere, as he seised on him with great force, and threw him from the toppe to the bottome, and after set fire on the Temple, and the cittie. Whilest this passed at *Tlatelulco*, the Mexicane generall was very hote in the revenge of those that pretended to defeate him by pollicie, & after he had forced them to yeelde, and to crie for mercy, the Generall sayde he would not pardon them, vntil they had first performed the offices of those figures they represented, and therfore he would have them crie like frogges and ravens, every one according to the figure which he had vndertaken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and necessitie be perfect teachers, so as they did sing and crie with all the differences of voyces that were com-

maunded them, to save their lives, although they were much grieved at the sport their enimies made at them. They say that vnto this day, the Mexicans vse to ieast at the *Tlatelulcans*, which they beare impatiently, when they putte them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King *Axayaca* tooke pleasure at this scorne and disgrace, and presently after they retourned to *Mexico* with great ioy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commaunded in *Mexico*. Hee raigned not eleaven yeares, and one succeeded that was much inferiour vnto him in valour and vertue.

Of the deedes of Autzol *the eight King of* Mexico.

Chap. 19.

AMong th e foure Electors that had power to chuse whome they pleased to be king, there was one indued with many perfections, named *Autzol*. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him curteous and affable to every man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that commaund, to purchase love and respect. To celebrate the feast of his coronation, hee resolved to make a voyage, and to punish the pride of those of *Quaxulatlan*, a very rich and plentifull province, and at this day the chiefe of new *Spaine*. They had robbed his officers and stewards, that carried the tribute to *Mexico*, and therwithall were rebelled. There was great difficulty to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the sea stopt the *Mexicans* passage: to passe the which *Autzol* (with a strange device and industry) caused an Iland to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and

other

other matter; by meanes whereof, both hee and his men might passe to the enemy, where giving them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned hee vnto *Mexico* in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. *Autzol* extended the limites of his kingdome farre, by many conquests, even vnto *Guatimalla*, which is three hundred leagues from *Mexico*. He was no lesse liberall than valiant: for whenas the tributes arrived, (which as I have saide) came in great aboundaunce, hee went foorth of his pallace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commaunded he to bring all the tributes, which hee divided to those that had neede. To the poore hee gave stuffes to make apparrell, and meate, and whatsoever they had neede of in great aboundaunce, and things of value, as golde, silver, iewels, and feathers, were divided amongest the Captaines, souldiers, and servants of his house, according to every mans merite. This *Autzol* was likewise a great polititian, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous. It seemed vnto him that the city of *Mexico* had too litle water, and that the Lake was very muddy, and therefore hee resolved to let in a great course of water, which they of *Cuyoacan* vsed. For this cause he called the chiefe man of the cittie vnto him, being a famous sorcerer, having propounded his meaning vnto him, the sorcerer wished him to be well advised what hee did, being a matter of great difficulty, and that hee vnderstoode, if he drew the river out of her ordinary course, making it passe to *Mexico*, hee would drowne the citty. The king supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his desseigne, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home,

Conquest

Liberal

publike works

the Lake

home; and a few dayes after hee sent a provost to *Cuyoacan*, to take this Sorcerer: who having vnderstanding for what intent the kings officers came, hee caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himself vnto them in the forme of a terrible Eagle, wherewith the provost and his companions being terrified, they returned without taking him. *Autzol* incensed herewith sent others, to whome hee presented himselfe in forme of a furious tygre, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible serpent, whereat they were much afraide. The king mooved the more with these dooings, sent to tell them of *Cuyoacan*, that if they brought not the sorcerer bound vnto him, he would raze their citty. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the king, who presently caused him to be strangled, and then did he put his resolution in practise, forcing a chanell whereby the water might passe to *Mexico*, whereby hee brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great ceremonies and superstitions, having priests casting incense along the banks, others sacrificed quailes, and with the bloud of them sprinckled the chanell bankes, others sounding of cornets, accompanied the water with their musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habite like to their goddesse of the water, and all saluted her, saying, that shee was welcome. All which things are painted in the Annales of *Mexico*: which booke is now at *Rome* in the holy Library, or Vaticane, where a father of our company, that was come from *Mexico*, did see it, and other histories, the which he did expound to the keeper of his Holinesse Library, taking great delight to vnderstand

Annals of Mexico in pictures at Rome

ſtand this booke, which before hee could never comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to *Mexico*, but it came in ſuch aboundaunce, that it had welneere drowned the cittie, as was foretold: and in effect it did ruine a great parte thereof, but it was preſently prevented by the induſtry of *Autzol*, who cauſed an iſſue to be made to draw foorth the water: by meanes whereof hee repaired the buildings that were fallen, with an exquiſite worke, being before but poore cotages. Thus he left the citty invironed with water, like another *Venice*, and very well built: hee raigned eleaven yeares, and ended with the laſt and greateſt ſucceſſor of all the Mexicans.

Of the election of great Moteçuma, the laſt king of Mexico. Chap. 20.

When the Spaniards entred new *Spaine*, being in the yeare of our Lorde one thouſand five hundred and eighteen, *Moteçuma* ſecond of that name, was the laſt king of the Mexicaines, I ſay the laſt, although they of *Mexico*, after his death, choſe another king, yea in the life of the ſame *Moteçuma*, whome they declared an enemy to his country, as we ſhall ſee heereafter. But hee that ſucceeded him, and hee that fell into the hands of the Marquiſe de *Valle*, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the kingdome was in a maner al yeelded to the Spaniards: ſo as with reaſon we account *Moteçuma* for the laſt king, and ſo hee came to the periode of the Mexicaines power and greatneſſe, which is admirable being happened among Barbarians: for this cauſe, and for that this was the ſeaſon, that God had choſen to reveale vnto them the knowledge of his 1518

Goſpel,

Gospel, and the kingdome of Iesus Christ, I will relate more at large the actes of *Motecuma*, then of the rest.

Charakter

Before he came to be king, he was by disposition, very grave and stayed, and spake little, so as when hee gave his opinion in the privy counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made every one to admire him, so as even then he was feared and respected. He retired himselfe vsually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of *Vitziliputzli*, where they said their Idoll spake vnto him; and for this cause hee was helde very religious and devout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man vpon whom al mens eyes were fixed, as woorthy of such a charge. Having intelligence of this election, hee hidde himselfe in this chappell of the Temple, whether it were by iudgement, (apprehending so heavy and hard a burthen) as to governe such a people) or rather as I beleeve throgh hypocrisie, to shew that he desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of councell, whither they accompanied him with all possible ioy: hee marched with such a gravitie, as they all sayd the name of *Motecuma* agreed very wel with his nature, which is as much to say, as an angry Lord. The electors did him great reverence, giving him notice, that hee was chosen king: from thence he was ledde before the harth of their gods, to give incense, where he offered sacrifices in drawing bloud from his eares, & the calves of his legges, according to their custome. They attired him with the royall ornaments, and pierced the gristle of his nosthrils, hanging thereat a rich emerald, a barbarous & troublous custome, but the desire of rule, made

all

all paine light and easie. Being seated in his throne, he gave audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made vnto him, which according vnto their custome were eloquent and artificiall. The first was pronounced by the king of *Tescuco*, which being preserved, for that it was lately delivered, & very worthy to be heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee sayde: *The concordance and vnitie of voyces vpon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble young man) of the happines the realme shall receive, as well deserving to be commaunded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they have great reason, for the Empire of* Mexico *doth alreadie so farre extend it selfe, that to governe a world, as it is, and to beare so heavie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, than that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisedome and iudgement than thine. I see and know plainely, that the mightie God loveth this Cittie, seeing he hath given vnderstanding to choose what was fit. For who will not beleeve that a Prince, who before his raigne had pierced the nine vaultes of heaven, should not likewise nowe obtaine those things that are earthlie to releeve his people, aiding himselfe with his best iudgement, being thereunto bound by the duetie and charge of a king. Who will likewise beleeve that the great courage which thou hast alwaies valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the Mexicane Empire is come to the height of their soveraignetie, seeing the Lorde of things created hath imparted so great graces vnto thee, that with thy looke onelie thou breedest admiration in them that beholde thee? Reioyce then, O happy land, to whom the Creator hath given a Prince, as a firme pillar to support thee, which shall be thy father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured*

cored at neede, who will be more than a brother to his subiects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a king, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lie stretched out upon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices; but contrariwise in the middest of his sweete and pleasant sleepe, hee will sodainely awake, for the care he must have over thee, and will not feele the taste of the most savourie meates, having his spirites transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell mee then (O happie realme) if I have not reason to saie that thou oughtest reioyce, having found such a King: And thou noble Yong man, and our most mightie Lorde, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lorde of things created hath given thee this charge, hee will also give thee force and courage to mannage it: and thou maiest well hope, that he which in times past hath used so great bountie towardes thee, will not now denie thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath given thee so great a charge; which I wish thee to enioy manie yeares. King *Motecuma* was very attentive to this Discourse, which being ended, they say he was so troubled, that indevouring thrice to answer him, hee could not speake, being overcome with teares, which ioy and content doe vsually cause, in signe of great humilitie. In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, *I were too blinde, good king of* Tescuco, *if I didde not know, that what thou hast spoken vnto me, proceeded of meere favour, it pleaseth you to shew me, seeing among so manie noble & valiant men within this realme, you have made choise of the least sufficient: and in trueth, I finde my selfe so incapable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creator of all created things, that hee will favour mee, and I intreate you all to pray vnto him for me.* These wordes vttered, hee beganne againe to weepe.

How

How Moteçuma ordered the service of his house, and of the warre hee made for his coronation. CHA. 21.

HE that in his election made such shew of humilitie and mildenes, seeing himselfe king, beganne presently to discover his aspiring thoughts. The first was, he commaunded that no plebeian should serve in his house, nor beare any royall office, as his predecessours had vsed till then; blaming them that would be served by men of base condition, commaunding that all the noble and most famous men of his realme shoulde live within his pallace, and exercise the offices of his court, and house. Wherevnto an olde man of great authoritie (who had sometimes beene his Schoolemaister) opposed himselfe, advising him, to be carefull what hee did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconvenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgare and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselves so reiected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the plebeians to goe thus mingled among the Nobles, as they had doone, saying, that the service they did, was according to their condition, so as the kings got no reputation, and thus he continued firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his counsell to dismisse all the plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his houshold as of his court, and to provide Knightes, the which was done. After he went in person to an enterprise necessary for his coronation. At that time a province lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was revolted from the

crowne,

crowne, whether he led the flower of his people, well appointed. There hee warred with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end he subdued all the province, and punished the rebells severely, returning with a great number of captives for the sacrifices, and many other spoiles. All the citties made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gave him water to wash, performing the offices of servants, a thing not vsed by any of his predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In *Mexico*, they made the feasts of his coronation with great preparations of dances, comedies, banquets, lights, and other inventions for many daies. And there came so great a wealth of tributes from all his countries, that strangers vnknowne came to *Mexico*, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these feasts, as those of *Tlascalla*, and *Mechovacan*: the which *Motecuma* having discovered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his own person. He also made them goodly galleries like vnto his owne, where they might see and behold the feasts. So they entred by night to those feasts, as the king himselfe, making their sportes and maskes. And for that I have made mention of these provinces, it shall not be from the purpose to vnderstand, that the inhabitants of *Mechovacan*, *Tlascalla*, and *Tapeaca*, would never yeelde to the Mexicans, but did alwaies fight valiantly against them; yea, sometimes the *Mechovacans* did vanquish the Mexicans, as also those of *Tapeaca* did. In which place, the Marquise *Don Ferrand Cortes*, after that he and the Spaniards were expelled *Mexico*, pretended to build their first cittie, the which he called (as I well remember,) *Segura de la Frontiere*: But this peopling continued

tinued little: for having afterwards reconquered *Mexico*, all the Spaniards went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of *Tapeaca*, *Tlascalla*, and *Mechovacan*, have beene alwaies enemies to the Mexicans, although *Motecuma* said vnto *Cortes*, that he did purposely forbeare to subdue them, to have occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captives.

Of the behaviour and greatnes of Motecuma.
Chap. 22.

THis King laboured to be respected, yea, to be worshiped as a god. No Plebeian might looke him in the face; if he did, he was punished with death: hee did never set his foote on the ground, but was alwaies carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich tapestry whereon he did go. When hee made any voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were in a parke compassed in for the nonce, and the rest of the people went without the parke, invironing it in on every side; hee never put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one vessell or dish above once; all must be new, giving to his attendants that which had once served him: so as commonly they were rich and sumptuous. He was very carefull to have his lawes observed. And when he returned victor from any warre, he fained sometimes to go and take his pleasure, then would he disguise himselfe, to see if his people (supposing if he weare absent,) would omitte any thing of the feast or reception: If there were any excesse or defect, he then did punish it rigorously. And also to discerne how his ministers did execute their offices, he often disguised himselfe, offering guiftes and

presents to the iudges, provoking them to do in iustice. If they offended, they were presently punished with death, without remission or respect, were they Noblemen, or his kinsmen; yea, his owne bretheren. He was little conversant with his people, and seldome seene, retyring himselfe most commonly to care for the government of his realme. Besides that, hee was a great iusticier and very noble, hee was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtained great victories, and came to this greatnes, as is written in the Spanish histories, whereon it seemes needeleſſe to write more. I will onely have a care heereafter to write what the bookes and histories of the *Indies* make mention of; the which the Spanish writers have not observed, having not sufficiently vnderstood the secrets of this country, the which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we shall see heereafter.

this Hist? taken only from ye Indian Books & reports

Of the presages and strange prodigies which happened in Mexico *before the fall of their Empire.*

Chap. 23.

Although the holy Scripture forbids vs to give credite to signes and vaine prognostications, and that S. *Ierome* doth admonish vs not to feare tokens from heaven, as the Gentiles do: Yet the same Scripture teacheth vs, that monstrous and prodigious signes are not altogether to bee contemned, and that often they are fore-runners of some generall changes and chasticements which God will take, as *Eusebius* notes well of *Cesarea:* For that the same Lord of heaven and earth, sendes such prodiges and new things in heaven, in the elements, in beasts, and in his other creatures, that

Deut. 28.

Ier. 10.

Lib. 9. de demo. Evan. demon. 1

that this might partly serve as an advertisement to men, and to be the beginning of the paine and chastisement, by the feare and amazement they bring. It is written in the second booke of *Macabees*, that before that great change and persecution of the people of *Israel*: which was caused by the tyranny of *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes*, whome the holy Scriptures call the roote of sinne, there were seene for forty dayes together thorowout all *Ierusalem*, great squadrons of horsemen in the ayre, who with their armour guilt, their lances and targets, and vppon furious horses, with their swordes drawne did strike, skirmish and incounter one against the other: and they say that the Inhabitants of *Ierusalem* seeing this, they prayed to our Lord to appease his wrath, and that these prodegies might turne to good. It is likewise written in the booke of *Wisedome*, That when God would drawe his people out of *Egypt*, and punish the Egyptians, some terrible & fearefull visions appeared vnto them, as fires seene out of time in horrible formes. *Ioseph* in his booke of the Iewish warres, sheweth many and great wonders going before the destruction of *Ierusalem*, and the last captivitie of his wicked people, whome God iustly abhorred: and *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, with others, alleadge the same texts, authorizing prognostications. The Histories are full of like observations in great changes of states and commonweales, as *Paulus Orosius* witnesseth of many: and without doubt this observation is not vaine nor vnprofitable; for although it be vanitie, yea superstition, defended by the lawe of our God, lightly to beleeve these signes and tokens: yet in matters of great moment, as in the changes of nations, kingdoms, and notable laws. It is no vaine thing, but rather certaine and assured, to

2. Mac. 5.

1. Mac. 1.

Sap. 17.

Euseb. lib. 1. de eccle. hist.

beleeve that the wisedome of the most High dooth dispose and suffer these things, foretelling what shoulde happen, to serve (as I have saide) for an advertisement to some, and a chasticement to others, and as a witnes to all, that the king of heaven hath a care of man: who as he hath appointed great and fearefull tokens of that great change of the world, which shall bee the day of iudgement, so doth it please him to send wonderful signes to demonstrate lesser changes in divers partes of the world, the which are remarkeable, whereof he disposeth according to his eternall wisedome. Wee must also vnderstand, that although the divell be the father of lies; yet the King of Glorie makes him often to confesse the trueth against his will, which hee hath often declared for very feare, as hee did in the desart by the mouth of the possessed, crying, that Iesus was the Saviour come to destroy him, as he did by the *Pythonisse*, who saide that *Paul* preached the true God, as when he appeared and troubled *Pilates* wife, whom he made to mediate for *Iesus* a iust man. And as many other histories besides the holy Scripture gave diverse testimonies of idols, in approbation of christian religion, whereof *Lactantius*, *Prosperus*, and others make mention. Let them reade *Eusebius* in his bookes of the preparation of the Gospel; and those of his demonstrations where he doth amply treate of this matter. I have purposely spoken this, that no man should contemne what is written in the Histories and Annales of the *Indies*, touching Presages and strange signes, of the approching end and ruine of their kingdome, and of the Divelles tyranny, whom they worshipped altogether. Which in my opinion is worthy of credite and beliefe, both for that it chanced late, and the memory is yet fresh, as also for

Mat.1. *Luke.4.*

Act.16.

that

that it is likely, that the Divell lamented at so great a change, and that God by the same meanes beganne to chastice their cruell and abhominable idolatries. I will therefore set them downe heere as true things. It chanced that *Moteçuma* having raigned many yeers in great prosperity, and so pufft vp in his conceit, as hee caused himselfe to be served and feared, yea to be worshipped as a god, that the Almighty Lord beganne to chastice him, and also to admonish him, suffering even the very Divelles whome he worshipped, to tell him these heavy tidings of the ruine of his kingdome, and to torment him by visions, which had never bin seen, wherewith hee remained so melancholy and troubled, as hee was voyde of iudgement. The idoll of those of *Cholola*, which they called *Quetzacoalt*, declared, that a strange people came to possesse his kingdomes. The king of *Tescuco* (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Divell) came one day at an extraordinarie houre to visite *Moteçuma*, assuring him that his gods had tolde him, that there were great losses preparing for him, and for his whole realme: many witches and sorcerers went and declared as much, amongst which there was one did very particularly foretell him what should happen: and as he was with him hee tolde him that the pulses of his feete and hands failed him. *Moteçuma* troubled with these news, commanded all those sorcerers to be apprehended: but they vanished presently in the prison, wherewith hee grewe into such a rage, that hee might not kill them, as hee putte their wives and children to death, destroying their houses, and families. Seeing himselfe importuned and troubled with these advertisements, he sought to appease the anger of his gods: and for that cause hee laboured

to bring a huge ſtone, thereon to make great ſacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee ſent a great number of people with engins and inſtruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes moove, although (being obſtinate) they had broken many inſtruments. But as they ſtrove ſtill to raiſe it, they heard a voyce ioyning to the ſtone, which ſaid they laboured in vaine, and that they ſhould not raiſe it, for that the Lorde of things created would no more ſuffer thoſe things to be doone there. *Moteçuma* vnderſtanding this, commaunded the ſacrifice to be perfourmed in that place, and they ſay the voyce ſpake againe: *Have I not told you, that it is not the pleaſure of the Lord of things created, that it ſhould be done: and that you may well know that it is ſo, I will ſuffer my ſelfe to be tranſported alittle, then after you ſhall not moove mee.* Which happened ſo indeede, for preſently they carried it a ſmall diſtance with great facility, then afterwards they could not moove it, till that after many prayers, it ſuffered it ſelfe to be tranſported to the entry of the citty of *Mexico*, where ſodainly it fel into the Lake, where ſeeking for it, they could not finde it, but it was afterwards found in the ſame place from whence they had remooved it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded. At the ſame time there appeared in the element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went ſtill mounting vntill the Sunne riſing in the morning, where it ſtayed at the South, and then vaniſhed away. It ſhewed it ſelfe in this ſort the ſpace of a whole yeare, and ever as it appeared the people caſt foorth great cries as they were accuſtomed, beleeving it was a preſage of great misfortune. It happened alſo that fire tooke the Temple, whenas no body was within

in it, nor neare vnto it, neither did there fall any lightning or thunder: wherevpon the guardes crying out, a number of people ran with water, but nothing could helpe, ſo as it was all conſumed; and they ſay the fire ſeemed to come forth of peeces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was caſt vpon it. There was a Comet ſeene in the day time, running from the weſt to the eaſt, caſting an infinite number of ſparkles, and they ſay the forme was like to a long taile, having three heads.

The great lake betwixt *Mexico* and *Teſcuco*, without any wind, earthquake, or any other apparant ſigne, beganne ſodainely to ſwell, and the waves grewe in ſuch ſort, as all the buildings neare vnto it fell downe to the ground. They ſay at that time they heard many voices, as of a woman in paine, which ſayde ſometimes, *O my children, the time of your deſtruction is come*, and otherwhiles it ſayde, *O my children, whither ſhall I carry you, that you periſh not vtterly?* There appeared likewiſe many monſters with two heads, which being carried before the king, ſodainely vaniſhed. There were two that exceeded all other monſters, being very ſtrange; the one was, the fiſhers of the lake tooke a bird as bigge as a Crane, and of the ſame colour, but of a ſtrange and vnſeene form. They caried it to *Moteçuma*, who at that time was in the pallace of teares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke, for as he had many palaces for his recreation, ſo had he alſo others for times of affliction, wherewith hee was then heavily charged and tormented, by reaſon of the threatnings his gods had given him by theſe ſorrowfull advertiſements. The fiſhers came about noone ſetting this bird before him, which had on the toppe of his head a thing bright and

transparent, in forme of a looking glasse, wherein he did behold a warrelike nation comming from the east, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Divines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who having seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demaunded of them, the bird vanished away, so as it was never more seene: whereupon *Motecuma* remained very heavy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a laborer, who had the report of a very honest man, came vnto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towardes him, and tooke him vppe in his talants, without hurting him, carying him into a certaine cave, where it left him; the Eagle pronouncing these words, *Most mightie Lorde, I have brought him whome thou hast commaunded me:* This Indian laborer looked about on every side, to whome hee spake, but hee sawe no man. Then he heard a voyce which sayde vnto him, Doost thou not knowe this man, whome thou seest lying vpon the ground: and looking thereon, he perceived a man lie very heavy asleepe, with royall ensignes, floures in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to vse in that countrey, whome the labourer beholding, knew it was the great king *Motecuma*, and answered presently: *Great Lord, this resembles our King Motecuma.* The voyce saide againe, *Thou saiest true, behold what he is, and how he lies asleepe, careless of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him. It is nowe time that hee pay the great number of offences hee hath doone to God, and that he receive the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how careless hee lies, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes hee*

holdes

holdes burning in his hand, and put it to his face, thou shalt then find him without feeling. The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commaunded, for the great feare they all hadde of this king. But the voyce saide, *Have no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I commaund thee.* Wherevpon the laborer took the staffe of perfumes out of the kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he mooved not, nor shewed any feeling.

This done, the voice said vnto him, that seeing hee had found the king so sleepy, he should go awake him, and tell him what he had seene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his tallents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which it had spoken, hee came to advertise him. They say, that *Moteçuma* looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heavy and troubled. It may be, that what the laborer reported, had happened vnto him by imaginary vision: And it is not incredible, that God appointed by the meanes of a good Angell, or suffered by a bad, that this advertisement should be given to the labourer for the kings chasticement, although an infidell, seeing that we reade in the holy Scriptures, that infidells and sinners have had the like apparations and revelations, as *Nabucadonosor, Balaam,* and the Pithonisse of *Saul.* *Dan.2.* *Num.22.* *3.Reg.28.* And if some of these apparations did not so expresly happen, yet without doubt, *Moteçuma* had many great afflictions and discontentments, by reason of sundry & divers revelations which he had, that his kingdome and law should soone end.

of

Of the newes Moteçuma received of the Spaniards arrivall in his Country, and of the Ambassage he sent them. CHAP. 24.

IN the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of *Moteçuma*, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1517. There appeared in the North seas, shippes, and men landing, whereat the subiects of *Moteçuma* wondred much, and desirous to learne, and to be better satisfied what they were, they went aboord in their canoes, carrying many refreshings of meats and stuffes to make apparrell, vpon colour to sell them. The Spaniards receiued them into their shippes, and in exchange of their victualls and stuffes, which were acceptable vnto them, they gave them chaines of false stones, red, blew, greene, and yellow, which the *Indians* imagined to be precious stones. The Spaniards informing themselves who was their king, and of his great power, dismissed them, willing them to carry those stones vnto their lord, saying, that for that time they could not goe to him, but they would presently returne and visit him. Those of the coast went presently to *Mexico* with this message, carrying the representation of what they had seene, painted on a cloth, both of the shippes, men, and stones which they had given them. King *Moteçuma* remained very pensive with this message, commanding them not to reveale it to any one. The day following, he assembled his counsell, and having shewed them the painted clothes, and the chaines, he consulted what was to be done: where it was resolved to set good watches vpon all the sea coastes, to give present advertisement to the king of what they should discover. The yeare following,

ing, which was in the beginning of the yeare 1518. they discovered a fleete at sea, in the which was the Marquise of *Valle Don Fernande Cortes*, with his companions, a newes which much troubled *Moteçuma*, and conferring with his counsell, they all said, that without doubt, their great and antient Lord *Queztzalcoalt* was come, who had saide, that he would returne from the East, whither he was gone. The Indians held opinion, that a great Prince had in times past left them, and promised to returne. Of the beginning and ground of which opinion shall be spoken in another place. They therefore sent five principall Ambassadors with rich presents, to congratulate his comming, saying, they knewe well that their great Lord *Queztzalcoalt* was come, and that his servant *Moteçuma* sent to visit him, for so hee accounted himselfe. The Spaniards vnderstood this message by the meanes of *Marina*, an Indian woman whom they brought with them, and vnderstoode the Mexicane tongue. *Fernande Cortes* finding this a good ocasion for his entry, commanded to deck his chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worshippe him as their god.

They delivered their charge, saying, that his servant *Moteçuma* sent to visit him, and that he held the country in his name as his lievetenant, that he knew well it was the *Topilcin* which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe vnto them. And therefore they brought him such garments as he was wont to weare, when hee did converce amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. *Cortes* receiving

ving the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselves to be curteously received and intreated by him (for in that, as wel as in other things, this valiant captaine deserved commendations) that if this course had beene continued, to win them by love, it seemed the best occasion was offered that might be devised, to draw this country to the Gospel by peace and love: but the sinnes of these cruel homicides and slaves of Satan, required punishment from heaven, as also those of many Spaniards, which were not in small number. Thus the high iudgements of God disposed of the health of this nation, having first cutte off the perished rootes: and as the Apostle saieth, the wickednes and blindenes of some, hath beene the salvation of others. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the fleete, came vnto the Admirall, where vnderstanding the matter, and that this realme of *Moteçuma* was mightie and rich; it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of brave and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes, (although they were few,) they should bee feared and received into *Mexico*. To this end they discharged all their artillerie from their shippes, which being a thing the Indians had never heard, they were amazed, as if heaven had fallen vpon them. Then the Spaniards beganne to defie them to fight with them: but the Indians not daring to hazard themselves, they did beate them and intreate them ill, shewing their swordes, lances, pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore Indians were by reason heereof, so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord *Topilcin* came not in this troup.

Rom. 11.

But

But they were some gods, (their enemies) came to destroy them. Whenas the Ambassadors returned to *Mexico*, *Moteçuma* was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their bloud to sprinkle the Ambassadors, (supposing by this ceremony, (which they were accustomed to do in solemne Ambassages,) to receive a good answer. But vnderstanding the report and information of the maner of their shippes, men, and armes, he stoode perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereon, he found no better meanes, then to labour to stoppe the entrie of these strangers, by coniurations and magicke Artes. They had accustomed often to vse this meanes, having great conference with the divell, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magitians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by *Moteçuma*, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne vnto their country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the invocation of their divells, and practising their artes, (a thing worthy of consideration.) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could prevaile against the Christians, they went to the king, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their coniurations and inchantments. Then *Moteçuma* advised him of another pollicie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his countries to serve these celestiall gods that were come into his land. The whole people was in great heavinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the Spaniards inquired for the King, of his maner of life,

life, of his houſe & meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: ſome of the people & other Negromanciers adviſed him to hide himſelfe, offering to place him whereas no creature ſhould ever finde him. This ſeemed baſe vnto him, and therefore he reſolved to attend them, although it were dying. In the end he left his houſes and royall pallaces to lodge in others, leaving them for theſe gods as he ſaid.

Of the Spaniards entrie into Mexico. Chap. 25.

I Pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the Spaniards, who conquered New *Spaine*, nor the ſtrange adventures which happened vnto them, nor of the courage and invincible valour of their Captaine *Don Fernando Cortes*: for that there are many hiſtories and relations thereof, as thoſe which *Fernando Cortes* himſelfe, did write to the Emperour *Charles* the fift, although they be in a plaine ſtile, and farre from arrogancie, the which doe give a ſufficient teſtimony of what did paſſe, wherein he was worthy of eternall mery, but onely to accompliſh my intention: I am to relate what the Indians report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tong. *Moteçuma* therefore, having notice of this Captaines victories, that he advanced for his conqueſt, that hee was confederate and ioyned with them of *Tlaſcalla*, his capitall enemies, and that he had ſeverely puniſhed them of *Cholola* his friends, he ſtudied how to deceive him, or elſe to try him in ſending a principall man vnto him, attyred with the like ornaments and royall enſignes, the which ſhuld take vpon him to be *Moteçuma*, which fiction being diſcouered to the Marquiſe by them of *Tlaſcalla*, (who did accompany him,) he ſent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehenſion, in

ſeeking

seeking so to deceive him: wherevpon *Motecuma* was so confounded, that for the feare thereof, he returned to his first imaginations and practises, to force the christians to retyre, by the invocation of coniurers and witches. And therefore he assembled a greater number then before, threatning them, that if they returned without effecting what he had given them in charge, not any one should escape, wherevnto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the divells officers went to the way of *Chalco*, by the which the Spaniards should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, *Tezcalipuca*, one of their principall gods, appeared vnto them, as comming from the Spaniards campe, in the habite of *Chalcas*, who had his pappes bound about eight folde with a cord of reedes, hee came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage & furie. Being come to this troupe of witches and coniurers, he staied, and spake to them in great choller, *Why come you hether, what doth Motecuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He hath advised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his subiects, having governed not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant.* The inchanters and coniurers hearing these words, knew it was their idoll, and humbling themselves before him, they presently built him an altar of stone in the same place, covering it with flowers which they gathered thereaboutes, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, beganne againe to chide them, saying, *What come you hether to do O yee traitours? Returne presently and behold* Mexico, *that you may vnderstand what shall become thereof.* And they say, that turning towards *Mexico* to behold it, they did see it flaming

ming on fire. Then the divell vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gave notice thereof to *Motecuma*, whereat hee remained long without speaking, looking heavily on the ground; then he said, what shall we doe if god and our friends leave vs, and contrariwise, they helpe and favour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolve in this point, that happen what may, we must not flie nor hide our selves, or shew any signe of cowardice. I onely pittie the aged and infants, who have neither feete nor hands to defend themselves. Having spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquise approaching to *Mexico*, *Motecuma* resolved to make of necessitie a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the cittie to receive him with a great maiesty, carried vpon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, vnder a rich canapie of gold and feathers: when they mette, *Motecuma* discended, and they saluted one another very curteously. *Don Fernando Cortes* said vnto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his realme, nor to diminish his authoritie. *Motecuma* lodged *Cortes* and his companions in his royall pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other private houses. This night the souldiers for ioy discharged their artillery, wherewith the Indians were much troubled, being vnaccustomed to heare such muscke. The day following, *Cortes* caused *Motecuma* and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great hall, where being set in a high chaire, he said vnto them, that hee was servant to a great prince, who had sent them into these countries to doe good workes, and that having found them of *Tlascalla* to be his friendes, (who complained of wrongs and greevances done vnto them daily by them of *Mexico*,) he

he would vnderſtand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that hereafter they might no more afflict and warre one againſt another: and in the meane time, he and his bretheren (which were the Spaniards,) would remaine ſtill there without hurting them: but contrariwiſe, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all vnderſtand this diſcourſe, vſing his interpterers & truchmen. The which being vnderſtoode by the King and the other Mexicane Lords, they were wonderfully well ſatisfied, and ſhewed great ſignes of love to *Cortes* & his company. Many hold opinion, that if they had continued the courſe they began that day, they might eaſily have diſpoſed of the king & his kingdome, and given them the law of Chriſt, without any great effuſion of bloud. But the iudgements of God are great, and the ſins of both parties were infinite: ſo as not having followed this courſe, the buſines was deferred: yet in the end, God ſhewed mercy to this nation, imparting vnto them the light of his holy Goſpel, after he had ſhewed his iudgement, and puniſhed them that had deſerved it, and odiouſly offended his divine reverence. So it is, that by ſome occaſions, many complaints, griefs, and iealoſies grew on either ſide. The which *Cortes* finding, & that the Indians mindes began to be diſtracted from them, he thought it neceſſary to aſſure himſelf, in laying hand vpon king *Moteçuma*, who was ſeazed on, and his legs fettered. Truly this act was ſtrange vnto all men, & like vnto that other of his, to have burnt his ſhips, and ſhut himſelfe in the midſt of his enemies, there to vanquiſh or to die. The miſchiefe was, that by reaſon of the vnexpected arrival of *Pamphilo Narvaes* at the true croſſe, drawing the country into mutiny, *Cortes* was forced to

absent himselfe from *Mexico*, & to leave poore *Motecuma* in the handes of his companions, who wanted discretion nor had not moderation like vnto him: so as they grew to that discention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

Of the death of Motecuma, and the Spaniards departure out of Mexico. Chap. 26.

WHenas *Cortes* was absent from *Mexico*, he that remained his lievetenant, resolved to punish the Mexicans severely, causing a great number of the nobilitie to be slaine at a maske which they made in the pallace, the which did so far exceede, as all the people mutined, & in a furious rage, tooke armes to be revenged and to kil the Spaniards. They therefore besieged them in the pallace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the Spaniards could do them with their artillery and crosse-bowes, might not terrifie them, nor force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many daies, stopping their victualls, nor suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast dartes after their maner, with a kinde of lances like vnto arrowes, in the which there are foure or six very sharpe rasors, the which are such, (as the histories report,) that in these warres, an Indian with one blow of these rasors, almost cut off the necke of a horse, & as they did one day fight with this resolution & furie, the Spaniards to make them cease, shewed forth *Motecuma*, with another of the chiefe Lords of *Mexico*, vpon the top of a platform of the house, covered with the targets of two souldiers that were with them. The *Mexicanes* seeing their Lord *Motecuma*, staied with great silence.

Then

Then *Moteçuma* cauſed the Lord to adviſe them to pacifie themſelves, and not to warre againſt the Spaniards, ſeeing that (hee being a priſoner,) it could little profite him. The which being vnderſtood by a yong man called *Quicuxtemoc*, whom they now reſolved to make their king, ſpake with a loude voice to *Moteçuma*, willing him to retyre like a villaine, that ſeeing he had bin ſuch a coward, as to ſuffer himſelfe to be taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather ſhould puniſh him as he deſerued, calling him woman for the more reproach, and then hee beganne to draw his bowe and to ſhoote at him, and the people beganne to caſt ſtones at him, & to continue their combate. Many ſay that *Moteçuma* was then hurt with a ſtone wherof he died. The *Indians of Mexico* affirme the contrarie, & that he died as I will ſhew hereafter. *Alvaro* & the reſt of the Spaniards ſeeing themſelves thus preſſed, gave intelligence to Captaine *Cortes*, of the great danger they were in: who having with an admirable dexteritie & valour, given order to *Narvaes* affaires, and aſſembled the greateſt part of his men, he returned with all ſpeede to ſuccour them of *Mexico*, where obſerving the time the Indians reſt, (for it was their cuſtom in war, to reſt every fourth day:) He one day advanced with great policy & courage, ſo as both he and his men entred the pallace, whereas the Spaniards had fortefied themſelves: they then ſhewed great ſignes of ioy, in diſcharging their artillery. But as the Mexicans furie increaſed, (being out of hope to defend themſelves,) *Cortes* reſolved to paſſe away ſecretly in the night without bruite. Having therefore made bridges to paſſe two great and dangerous paſſages, about mid-night they iſſued forth as ſecretly as they could, the greateſt part of his people having paſſed the firſt bridge, they were diſcovered by an Indian woman before they could paſſe.

The second, who cried out their enemies fled, at the which voice all the people ran together with a horrible furie: so as in passing, the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remained above three hundred men slaine & hurt in one place; where at this day there is a smal hermitage, which they vnproperly cal of Martyrs. Many Spaniards (to preserve the gold & iewells which they had gotten,) perished, & others staying to carry it away, were taken by the Mexicans, & cruelly sacrificed to their idols. The Mexicans found king *Moteçuma* dead, & wounded as they say with poiniards, and they hold opinion that that night the Spaniards slew him with other Noblemen. The Marquise in his relation sent to the Emperour, writes the contrary, & that the Mexicans killed him that night with a son of *Moteçuma*, which he led with him amongst other noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and silver, fell into the lake & was never more seene. But howsoever, *Moteçuma* died miserably, & paied his deserts to the iust iudgement of our Lord of heaven for his pride & tyranny; his body falling into the *Indians* power, they would make him no obsequies of a king, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdaine & rage. A servant of his having pittie of this Kings miserie, (who before had bene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fier thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the Spaniards that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoiled, the Indians following them two or three daies very resolutely, giving them no time of rest, being so distressed for victualls, as a few graines of Mays were divided amongst them for their meate. The relations both of the Spaniards & Indians agree, that God delivered them here miraculously, the Virgin Mary defending them on a little hill, whereat this day three leagues from *Mexico*, there is a Church

Church built in remembrance thereof, called our Lady of succour. They retyred to their antient friends of *Tlascalla*, whence (by their aide, & the valour & pollicie of *Cortes*,) they returned afterwards to make war against *Mexico*, by water and land, with an invention of brigantines, which they put into the lake, where after many combates, and above threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered *Mexco*, on S. *Hippolitus* day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last king of the Mexicans, (having obstinately maintained the wars,) was in the end taken in a great canoe, whereinto he fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefest noblemen before *Fernando Cortes*, this pettie king with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to *Cortes*, and said vnto him, *Vntill this day I have done my best indevour for the defence of my people: now am I no farther bound, but to give thee this dagger to kill me therewith. Cortes* answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the misery & afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amity at their hands. He then commanded them to be intreated curteously. Many strange & admirable things chanced in this conquest of *Mexico*: for I neither hold it for an vntruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God favoured the Spaniards by many miracles: for else it had bin impossible to surmount so many difficulties, without the favour of heaven, and to subiect this nation with so few men. For although we were sinners, & vnworthy so great a favour, yet the cause of our God, the glorie of our faith, the good of so many thousands soules, as were in these countries, whome the Lord had predestinate, wrought this change which wee now see, by supernaturall meanes, and proper to himselfe which calles the blinde and

prisoners, to the knowledge of himselfe, giving them light and libertie by his holy Gospel. And to the end you may the better vnderstand this, and give credite therevnto, I will aleadge some examples which in my opinion are fit for this history.

Of some miracles which God hath shewed at the Indies, *in favour of the faith, beyond the desert of those that wrought them.* CHAP. 27.

SAint *Croix* of the mountaine, is a very great province, and farre from the Kingdome of *Peru*, neighbour to diverse infidell nations, which have not yet any knowledge of the Gospel, if since my departure, the fathers of our company which remane there, have not instructed them. Yet this province of S. *Croix* is christned, and there are many Spaniards, and great numbers of Indians baptized. The maner how Christianitie entred, was thus. A souldier of a lewd life, resident in the province of *Charcas*, fearing punishment, being pursued for his offences, went farre vp into the countrie, and was received curteously by this barbarous people. The Spaniard seeing them in a great extremity for water, and that to procure raine, they vsed many superstitious ceremonies, according to their vsuall maner, he said vnto them, that if they would do as he said, they should presently have raine, the which they willingly offered to performe. Then the souldier made a great crosse, the which he planted on a high and eminent place, commanding them to worship it, and to demand water, the which they did. A wonderful thing to see, there presently fel such aboundance of raine, as the Indians tooke so great devotion to the holy crosse, as they fled vnto

to it in all their necessities, and obtained all they demanded: so as they brake downe their idolls, and beganne to carry the crosse for their badge, demanding preachers to instruct, and to baptise them. For this reason, the province to this day hath beene called S. *Croix de la Sierre*. But to the end we may see by whom God wrought these miracles, it shall not be vnfit to shew how that this souldier after he had some yeares done these miracles, like an Apostle, and yet nothing reformed in his lewd course of life, left the province of *Charcas*, and continuing in his wicked courses, was publikely hanged at *Potozi*. *Polo* (who knew him wel) writes all this, as a notable thing happened in his time. *Cabeça de Vaca*, who since was governour of *Paraguey*, writes what happened vnto him in his strange peregrination in *Florida*, with two or three other companions, the onely remainder of an army, where they continued ten yeares with these Barbarians, traveling and searching even vnto the South sea, being an author worthy of credite: he saieth, that these Barbarians did force them to cure certaine diseases, threatning them with death if they did it not; they being ignorant in any part of phisicke, and having nothing to apply, forced by necessitie, made evangelicall medicines, saying the praiers of the Church, and making the signe of the crosse, by meanes whereof, they cured these diseases, which made them so famous, as they were forced to exercise this office in all townes as they passed, the which were innumerable, wherein our Lord did aide them miraculously, and they themselves were thereat amazed, being but of an ordinarie life; yea, one of them was a Negro. *Lancero* was a souldier of *Peru*, of whom they knew no other merit, but to be a souldier: he spake certaine good wordes vpon wounds, and making the signe of the crosse, did presently cure them: so as they

did say, (as in a proverbe,) the psalme of *Lancero*. Being examined by such as held authority in the Church, his office & works were approved. Some men worthy of credite report, (and I have heard it spoken,) that in the cittie of *Cusco*, whenas the Spaniards were besieged and so straightly pressed, that without helpe from heaven, it was impossible to escape, the Indians casting fire on the tops of the houses, whether the Spaniards were retyred, (in which place the great Church is now built,) & although the covering were of a kind of straw, which they call *Chicho*, and that the fire they cast, was of the wood of fat & slimy firre-trees; yet nothing was set on fire, nor burnt, for that there was a woman did quench it presently, the which the Indians did visibly see, as they confessed afterwards being much amazed. It is most certaine by the relations of many, and by the histories which are written, that in divers battailes which the Spaniards had, as well in New *Spaine*, as in *Peru*, the Indians their enemies did see a horse-man in the aire, mounted on a whit horse, with a sword in his hand; fighting for the Spaniards, whence comes the great reverence they beare at the *Indies* to the glorious Apostle Saint *Iames*. Other whiles they did see in some battailes, the image of our Ladie, from whom the Christians have received in those partes incomparable favours and benefites: if I should particularly relate all the workes of heaven, as they happened, it would make a very long discourse. It sufficeth to have said this, by reason of the favour which the Queene of glorie did to our men, when they were pressed and pursued by the Mexicans, the which I have set downe, to the end we may know how our Lord hath had a care to favour the faith and Christian religion, defending those that maintained it, although happily by their workes they deserved not so great favours and benefites

nefites from heaven. And therefore we ought not to condemne all these things of the first Conquerours of the *Indies*, as some religious and learned men have done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were covetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be observed with the Infidels, who had never offended the Christians, yet can we not deny, but on their part there was much malice against God and our men, which forced them to vse rigor and chastisement. And moreover, the Lord of all (although the faithfull were sinners,) would favour their cause and partie, even for the good of the Infidells, who should bee converted vnto the holy Gospel by this meanes, for the waies of God are high, and their paths admirable.

Of the maner how the Divine providence disposed of the Indies, *to give an entrie to Christian Religion.* Chap. 28.

I Will make an end of this historie of the *Indies*, shewing the admirable meanes whereby God made a passage for the Gospel in those partes, the which we ought well to consider of, and acknowledge the providence and bountie of the Creator. Every one may vnderstand by the relation and discourse I have written in these bookes, as well at *Peru*, as in New *Spaine*, whenas the Christians first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The *Inguas* of *Peru*, possessing from the Realme of *Chille* beyond *Quitto*, which are a thousand leagues, being most aboundant in gold, silver, sumptuous services, and other things: as also in *Mexico*, *Moteçuma* commaunded from

the

the North Ocean sea, vnto the South, being feared and worshiped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of *Daniel*, which dissolved the Realmes and Kingdoms of the world, should also dissolve those of this new world. And as the lawe of Christ came whenas the Romane Monarchie was at her greatnes: so did it happen at the West *Indies*, wherein we see the iust providence of our Lord: For being then in the world, I meane in *Europe* but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors do note, whereby the Gospel might more easily be imparted to so many people and nations. Even so hath it happened at the *Indies*, where having given the knowledge of Christ to the Monarkes of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is herein a speciall thinge to bee obserued, that as the Lordes of *Cusco* and *Mexico* conquered new landes, so they brought in their owne language, for although there were (as at this day) great diuersitie of tongues yet the Courtlie speeche of *Cusco*, did and doth at this day runne above a thousand leagues, and that of *Mexico* did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in olde tymes. He that woulde knowe what a helpe it hath beene for the conversion of this people in these two greate Empyres, and the greate difficultie they haue founde to reduce those Indians to Christ, which acknowledge no Soueraigne Lorde, let him goe to *Florida*, *Bresill*, the *Andes* and many other places, where they have not prevailed so much by their preaching in fiftie yeares, as they have done in *Peru* and newe Spaine in lesse then

five.

five. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the countrie: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impossible to have so great wealth, and to bee able to preserve it if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the gospell are so colde and without zeale, and Merchants with the heat of covetousnes and desire of commaund, search and discouer newe people whether wee passe with our commodities, for as Saint *Austin* saith, the Propheſie of *Esaie* is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended, not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is, (as he declareth,) by humaine and earthly meanes, which they seeke more commonly then Iesus Christ. It was also a great providence of our Lord, that whenas the first Spaniardes arrived there, they founde ayde from the *Indians* them selves, by reason of their partialities and greate diuisions. *August. lib. 2. de consens. euang. c. 36.*

This is well knowne in *Peru*, that the division betwixt the two brothers *Atahulpa* and *Guasca*, the great King *Guanacapa* their father being newly dead, gave entry to the Marquise *Don Francis Pizarre*, and to the Spaniards, for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in warre one against the other. The like experience hath beene in New *Spaine*, that the aide of those of the province of *Tlascalla*, by reason of their continuall hatred against the Mexicaines, gave the victory and siegniory of *Mexico*, to the Marquise *Fernando Cortes* and his men, and without them it had beene impossible to have wonne it, yea, to have maintained themselves within the country.

They are much deceived that so little esteeme the Indians, and iudge that (by the advantage the Spaniards have over them in their persons, horses, and armes, both

offensive

offencive and deffencive,) they might easily conquer any land or nation of the *Indies*.

Chille standes yet, or to say better, *Aranco* and *Tuecapel*, which are two citties, where our Spaniards could not yet winne one foote of ground, although they have made warre there above five and twenty yeares, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous nation, having once lost the apprehention of horse and shotte, and knowing that the Spaniards fall as well as other men, with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entring the pikes vppon any enterprise. How many yeares have they levied men in New *Spaine*, to send against the *Chychymequos*, which are a small number of naked Indians, armed onely with bowes and arrowes: yet to this day they could not bee vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall wee say of the *Chucos*, of the *Chiraguanas*, of the *Piscocones*, and all the other people of the *Andes*? Hath not all the flower of *Peru* beene there, bringing with them so great provision of armes and men as we have seene? What did they? With what victories returned they? Surely they returned very happy in saving of their lives, having lost their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the Indians,) that they are men of nothing; but if they thinke so, let them go and make triall. Wee must then attribute the glory to whom it appertaines, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if *Motecuma* in *Mexico*, and the *Ingua* in *Peru*, had bin resolute to resist the Spaniards, and to stoppe their entrie, *Cortes* and *Pizarre* had prevailed little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also beene a great helpe to induce the Indians to receive the law of Christ, the subiecti-

iection they were in to their Kings and Lords, and also the servitude and slaverie they were helde in by the divells tyrannies and insupportable yoake. This was an excellent disposition of the Divine Wisedome, the which drawes profite from ill to a good end, and receives his good from an others ill, which it hath not sowen. It is most certaine that no people of the West *Indies* have beene more apt to receive the Gospel, then those which were most subiect to their Lords, and which have beene charged with the heavieſt burthens, as well of tributes and services, as of customes and bloodie practises. All that which the Mexicane Kings and those of *Peru* did possesse, is at this day most planted with Christian religion, and where there is least difficultie in the government and ecclesiasticall discipline. The Indians were so wearied with the heavy and insupportable yoake of Sathans lawes, his sacrifices and ceremonies, whereof wee have formerly spoken, that they consulted among themselves, to seeke out a new law, and another God to serve. And therefore the law of Christ seemed vnto them, and doth at this day seeme iust, sweete, cleane, good, and full of happinesse.

And that which is difficult in our law, to beleeve so high and soveraigne Misteries, hath beene easie among them, for that the Divell had made them comprehend things of greater difficultie, and the selfe-same things which he had stolen from our Evangelicall law, as their maner of communion and confession, their adoration of three in one, and such other like, the which against the will of the enemy, have holpen for the easie receiving of the truth by those who before had imbraced lies. God is wise and admirable in all his workes, vanquishing the adversarie even with his owne weapon, hee takes him in his

his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this people, and who seemed to have thus long forgot them,) when the houre was come, hee would have the same divells, enemies to mankinde, whom they falsly held for gods, should give a testimony against their will, of the true law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the crosse, as it plainely appeares by the presages, propheses, signes, and prodiges, heere before mentioned, with many others happened in divers partes, and that the same Ministers of Sathan, Sorcerers, Magitians, and other Indians have confessed it. And we cannot deny it, (being most evident and knowne to all the world,) that the Divell dareth not hisse, and that the practises, oracles, answers, and visible apparitions, which were so ordinary throughout all this infidelitie, have ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in caves, and on the toppes of mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Soveraigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glory of his holy name: And in truth, if they did governe this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the law of Iesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoake and light burthen, and that they would impose no more vppon them then they can well beare, as the letters pattents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would imploy halfe the care they have to make profite of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules; it were the most peaceable and happy Christan part of all the world. But our sinnes are often an occasi-

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on that God doth not impart his graces so aboundantly as he would. Yet I will say one thing which I holde for truth, that although the first entry of the Gospel hath not beene accompanied (in many places,) with such sincerities and christian meanes, as they should have vsed: yet God of his bountie hath drawne good from this evill, and hath made the subiection of the Indians, a perfect remedie for their salvation. Let vs consider a little, what hath beene newly converted in our time to the Christian Religion, as well in the East, as in the West, and how little suretie and perseverance in the faith and Christian Religion there hath beene, in places where the new converted have had full libertie to dispose of themselves, according to their free will. Christianitie without doubt augments and increaseth, and brings forth daily more fruite among the Indian slaves: and contrariwise decreaseth and threatens a ruine in other partes, where have beene more happy beginnings. And although the beginnings at the West *Indies* have beene labourſome, yet our Lord hath speedily sent good worke-men and his faithfull Ministers, holy men and Apostolicall, as Friar *Martin* of *Valence*, of the order of S. *Francis*, Friar *Dominicke de Gerancois*, of the order of S. *Dominicke*, Friar *Iohn de Roa*, of the order of S. *Austen*, with other servants of our Lord, which have lived holily, and have wrought more then humaine things. Likewise, Prelates and holy Priests, worthy of memory, of whom we heare famous miracles, and the very acts of the Apostles: yea, in our time we have knowne and conferred with some of this qualitie.

But for that my intention hath beene onely to touch that which concernes the proper history of the Indians themselves, and to come vnto the time that the father

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of our Lord Iesus Christ would communicate the light of his word vnto them. I will passe no farther, leaving the discourse of the Gospel at the west *Indies* for another time, and to a better vnderstanding: Beseeching the Soveraigne Lord of all, and intreating his servants, humbly to pray vnto his Divine Maiestie, that it would please him of his bountie, often to visit and to augment by the guifts of heaven this new Christendome, which these last ages have planted in the farthest boundes of the earth.

Glory, Honour, & Empery be to the King of worlds for ever and ever.

Amen.

FINIS.

A Table of the most remarkable things contained in this Naturall and Morall Historie of the Indies.

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111.22. for, *Paraguen*	reade	*Paraguay.*
120.30. for, River		Region.
135.32. for, to		in
141.28. for, the motion		without any motion
148.33. for, inhabited		not inhabited
164.17. for, greene		great
198.23. for, hundred		five hundred
213.21. for, *Curuma*		*Cucuma*
229.17. for, to		and
235.11. for, it		that
241.8. for, it		his
253.12. for, maces		markes
274.8. for, little		like
278.19. for, is no		is a
351.25. for, many		in many
368.2. for, possession		profession
397.14. for, to the communion		to the people in manner of a communion
514.21. for, partiall		particular
324.32. for, convenient in a maner		in a convenient manner,
335.3. for, of		to
347.25. for, neither		in their

Gentle Reader, from the folio 225. line 14, 16, 19, 20. where you finde peeces reade pezoes till you come to folio 322. line 22.

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AMERICANA. Acosta (Joseph De). The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies. Intreating of the Remarkable things of Heaven, of the Elements, Mettalls, Plants and Beasts which are proper to that Country: Together with the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments and Warres of the Indians. Written in Spanish by Joseph Acosta, and translated into English by E. G. (Edward Grimestone). Sm. 4to, brown calf, gilt edges. London: Printed by Val: Sims for Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604. 60.00

First Edition in English. The best evidence of the merits of this work is, that it has been translated into almost every language in Europe. Sabin's Dictionary enumerates 22 editions. Acosta composed part of his work in Peru and the remainder on his return to Europe. The translator was Edward Grimstone. "Replete with details of the aborigines, before their peculiar customs had become modified by contact with the whites. He was one of the most curious and accurate observers of the customs and peculiarities of the Aborigines who have attempted to describe them."—Field.